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I.—A BENGALEE MADONNA.

EVER since the time of the earliest frescoist of the Catacomb of S. Priscilla, there is scarcely a great artist who has not loved to dwell on that eternal theme of the Mother and the Child with more or less religious faith or convincing spirituality. Now in stiff conventionalism—now in excessive grace, in wonderful curves or in restrained rhythm, in jewelled poems or in patterned mosaic, on glowing canvas or on speaking stones, the Mother and the Child as dreamed by a host of artists in an infinite variety of forms and gestures still stare at you from the walls of Ravenna, the panels of Assissi or the porch of Amiens. Whether as a theological statement or a religious doctrine, as a popular faith or a record of monks' vision, as a mysterious link between God and man, or a powerful Intercessor or Dispenser of mercy, as the lovely lady of Chivalry, as the insipid woman of cold heart, as the sportive girl exultant in her young motherhood, or a homely housewife, or a coquettish mother chiding her naughty child, the picture has undergone an enormous amount of evolutions and uses of all shades of merit in the works of generations of artists in different epochs and periods. Even in pre-Christian times in Egypt and in Aegia the theme had an interesting history. Long before it attracted Christian theologians it had been exploited by Hindu philosophers and Buddhist iconographers. Whether as Hariti or Tara, Mater Grata or Jagadamba Jasoda, Ganesha-Janani or Mary, Queen Madonna, Nurse Madonna or Mater Dolorosa, the idea ever seeks rejuvenating inspiration in new and undying forms. And artists of all ages and climes have never been weary of weaving on the thread of this theme glorious garlands of their dreams. It has persisted long after the last aroma of Religion faded from Art. It survives Catholic Christianity and Tantric Hinduism for it is as old as humanity and will last as long as humanity. In modern times when artists have founded a dogma of abjuring threadbare themes and "classical" subjects they have not been able to escape the snares of the old "story." And sometimes the parabolic and cubic abstractions of a Van Rees involuntarily trace out a design for "Maternity" unconsciously linking up the Factories of twentieth century Holland with the Chapels of Italy in the fourteenth. And no elaborate apology is perhaps necessary for the callous Bengalee youth from the local Government art school, who has strayed into the same subject in the small canvas which we reproduce in the frontispiece by the gracious permission of its owner, the Maharaja of Burdwan. Nobody will claim extraordinary qualities of idea and of execution in this unpretending picture of J. Seal but it is considerably on a higher level than his "Alpana" which we reproduced in our last issue. Despite the somewhat conventional technique which is a mannerism with all "school of art" students the young artist has succeeded in expressing a very sincere and a truthful vision of a typical Bengalee young mother who is at once the despair of our social and educational reformers and maternity medicos and the delight of the old grannies and sundry old folks sweetly oblivious of eugenics, and heaps of other modern abominations. What matters if the red tunic of divinity or the blue mantle of religious faith has forgotton to clasp her frail form? Her motherhood shines through her frilled *sari* with the same halo of effulgence as in the Byzantine jewel-bedecked goddesses or in the stately queens of a Bellini, a Domenico or a Fra Angelico.

II.—SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE TEMPLES OF ANGKOR.*

By H. MARCHAL.

THE ancient Kingdom of Khmer which extended its domination over parts of Siam and Laos and over Cambodge and Cochin-China have known from the 7th to 13th centuries of the Christian era a period of active architectural construction which could be compared with that of the Middle Ages in France. From North to South and from East to West, on a superficial area of over a hundred thousand kilometres, the soil of Khmer country was covered, within a relatively short space of time, with nearly a thousand monuments and works of art, monasteries, temples and sanctuaries. These monuments in certain regions, are formed into veritable agglomerations, of which the *ensemble* lying to the North of the great lakes of Cambodge and designated the Angkor group, is one of the most important. Unhappily the haste in which many of these monuments were constructed (nearly all of them were left incomplete) and the want of knowledge of laws most essential to constructions in stone, have occasioned a ruin which the wars came in still more to complete.

The period of prosperity of the Khmer Kingdom was succeeded by devastation and pillage. The state of these temples, for a long time abandoned to themselves in the forest which has invaded and almost entirely covered them over, is deplorable indeed. Certain trees, after having thrown down portions of walls and galleries, have installed themselves in the parts which still remain standing and have become, so to say, incorporated in the monument.

It is intended to present here only a rapid survey giving the essential characteristics of the temples of Angkor and of the period designated as Classic, that is to say, the period comprised within the 9th and the 13th centuries.

One will be able to understand the importance that is attached to the region, when it is mentioned that it was at Angkor that nearly all the kings of that epoch resided and held their court.[1] These temples were designed mostly for Brahmanical worship, but certain of them were appropriated to Northern Buddhism and it is also very probable that the two cults borrowed sometimes the same building, either concurrently or consecutively.

At the present moment the Buddhism of the South having prevailed in Cambodge in the wake of *Thaic* invasion, the images of Buddha have in many places replaced the images of Brahmanical deities. The Khmer temple is essentially constituted of a sanctuary in the form of a square tower, open sometimes on four sides and sometimes only on the Eastern facade which is the principal front of the shrine. Sometimes one or several porches precede these entrances and on the Eastern side a pillared hall gives access to the sanctuary.

The other constructions of which the *ensemble* make up a Khmer temple are—

(1) the "circulation galleries" in passages of traffic which bind together the various parts of the temple ;

(2) the small edifices which serve either as lodgings for the priests or as secondary sanctuaries or as depôts for implements of worship—the objects of the cult ;

(3) the causeways of access and the walls of the enclosure which are interrupted by monumental gateways.

In all these constructions the height is more or less increased on account of the basements on which they stand.

Certain sanctuaries of less importance are isolated : the others are grouped in three and surrounded by a compound wall which is pierced by one or more entrances lying in the axis of the principal sanctuary—the Eastern gate being by far the most decorated of all.

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[1] The town of Angkor nowadays Angkor Thom, formerly Yacaodharapura was founded about the year 900 by the King Yacovarman.

* Translated by Mr. G. D. Sarkar from the original article in French.

Fig. 1. Angkor Vat—South West angle.

Fig. 2. Baksei Chang Krang—General View.

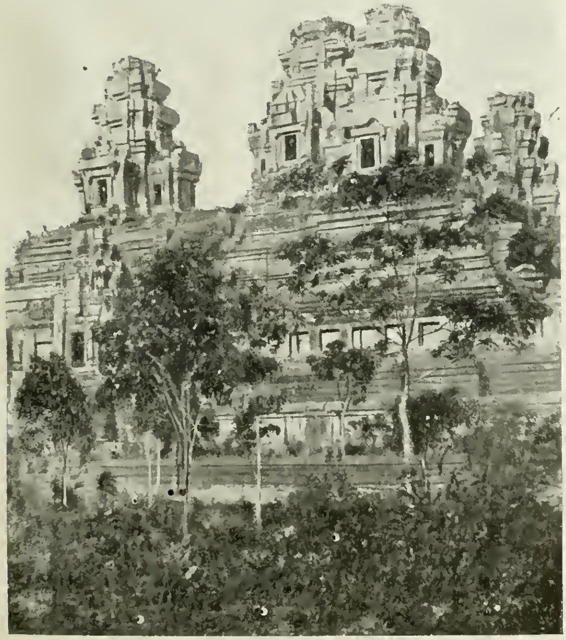

Fig. 3. Takeo—General View.

Fig. 4. Bonteai Kdei—South Gate.

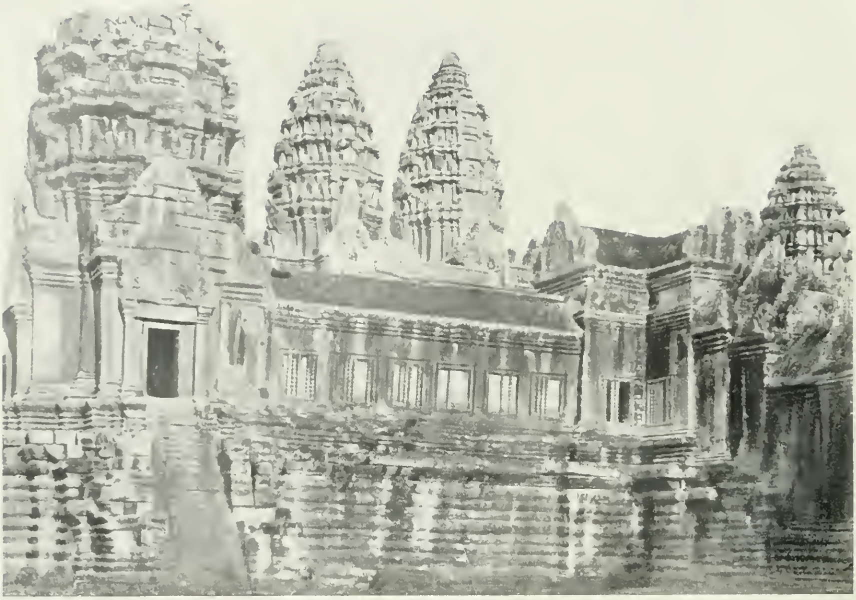

Fig. 5. Angkor Vat—North-west angle.

Fig. 6. Angkor Vat—General View.

The great temples have always their central sanctuaries surrounded by two, three or even four sets of rectangular enclosures constituted by galleries which often serve to duplicate the lateral passages supported by square pillars and standing at a lower level.

The galleries constructed at the angles or in the axis of smaller sanctuaries are analogous to the central sanctuary but of lesser dimensions (Fig 1).

The different precincts are either on the same level, as is the case in the temple of Banteai Kdei (Fig. 4), or are built on basements rising in tiers, of which the combined whole forms in its totality a sort of pyramid dominating the central sanctuary. The temple of Takeo (Fig. 3) is one of the instances in point. This is one of the rare Khmer temples of which the stone remains uncarved and unadorned by any sculpture.

The aspect of these temples, formed in successive stories, is always most imposing ; the temple of Angkor Vat, which is the most recent in date, appertains to this category. This temple presents a perfection in its *ensemble* of proportions, a harmony in the equipoise of masses, which makes it the undisputed masterpiece of Khmer art. The simplicity and logic of its place, and the wisely calculated distribution of different elements for improving the central *motif*, place it well above other Khmer monuments and can put it on a line with the justly reputed monuments of past ages (Figs. 5 and 6).

Most of the Khmer temples are constructed of sandstone and laterite and have vaulted arches ; some monuments are made of brick. One also finds very often the three kinds of materials—sandstone, laterite and bricks—entering into the composition of the same monument.

As an example of an edifice of this kind is cited here an isolated shrine close to Angkor Thom, known as Baksei Chang Krang of which the base is in laterite, the plinth and the gates are in sandstone, and all the higher portions constructed of brick. (Fig. 2)

In general the interior masonry work is in laterite and the sculptured exterior casing is in sandstone. In the brick-made temples the moulded and decorated parts round the gateway are also in sandstone. The vaults are made with horizontal joints and have got corbellings or projections which do not permit of the construction of very large halls. The external surface of the vault forming the roof-covering is in imitation of the swellings or curvatures on the pentiles. The internal surface is hardly chipped or rough hewn, as it was intended to remain hidden under a wooden ceiling. The stones are laid down dry without any binding of mortar. Sometimes iron braces or camp hooks bind the blocks together. A mortar of lime has, however, been employed as an external coating upon the walls of certain temples and more particularly upon the temples constructed of brick.

The towers which surmount the sanctuaries and the intersections of galleries are on a square plan with detachment (*decrochement*) in plan and elevation which imitate the diminutive stories on the exterior. The summit of the tower is terminated by tapering crowns ornamented with petals of lotus or with cylindrical structures resembling the padded caps worn by children (bourrelets) and surmounted by a pointed stone ; perhaps a trident or an ornament in bronze was added to the spire-crowns; but of these no trace is left : besides, these terminations of towers have in most cases fallen to pieces.

Certain towers have a decoration which is rather singular. The retreating stories are replaced by four big heads crowned with diadems—probably the faces of Civa—which look at the four cardinal points. These visages of Civa, some of which measure more than two metres in height, constitute the object of the greatest interest in the temple of Bayon at the centre of the royal city of Angkor Thom. The architecture of this monument shows a great incoherence, a fact which contributes in other respects to the romantic and mysterious aspect which is so much attractive to visitors. (Fig. 7)

Some towers adorned with faces can also be seen over certain gateways which afford passage into the interior of the enclosure. (Fig. 9)

The gateways of the tower of Angkor Thom were decorated in this manner : unfortunately the pediment which crowned the arches having fallen down, the general profile is found to be modified.

It is probable that these towers and the principal parts of the monuments were formerly gilded and covered with paintings. It must be understood that the paintings have now almost entirely disappeared.

All these temples are moulded and ornamented from the plinth at the bottom of the basement up to the top of the towers of which the detachments (*decrochements*) of the different stones are ornamented with small triangular stones set like acroteria and representing diminutive personages engaged in prayer.

In these three big temples, Angkor Vat, Bayon and Banteai Chhma (the last named is situated to the North-West of Cambodge near the Siamese frontier) the entire walls of certain galleries are decorated with great bas-reliefs representing warlike or legendary scenes drawn from the Mahabharata or the Ramayana. The basements which play a very important role in Khmer architecture are also decorated with mouldings: each moulding is adorned with deep carvings which set off the important parts and are ornamented with foliage and interlacings (' twines) in which the *motif* of lotus petals frequently appear.

Fig. 7. Bayon—Four-Faced Tower.

The perrons (steps) of the basements are encircled with sockets or pedestals supporting lions and on the angles of terraces stand erect, elephants made of stone.

In the same manner the walls of sanctuaries and galleries bear mouldings in their lower parts and are terminated above by a cornice which repeats in a contrary direction the mouldings at the base. The walls are ornamented with friezes and bas-reliefs and with decorations in which certain personages are often figured. (Figs. 9 and 10) One finds there also graceful feminine figures holding flowers in their hands which are inserted under the garlands and the foliage: their busts are nude and they are covered with jewellery: sometimes they are represented dancing.

The windows, which are low enough, have only for their protection close set round bars in sandstone which are in imitation of wooden bars turned in the lathe. The entrances on the contrary were provided with folding doors made of wood mounted on pivots: one can still find the stone cavities in which the pivots worked.

False doors and false windows often decorate the walls of facades of the sanctuaries or of the galleries. The decoration, carved in stone, of folding doors, of these false doorways, is of a very rich character. The false windows show sometimes a half-lowered screen.

The entrances of temples form an architectural *motif* which is particularly brilliant. The door is placed between two small columns supporting a lintel—some of which are admirably composed and sculptured. One generally finds in this a divinity at the centre with a masque of Rahu which serves as the point from which the foliage sets out in lateral directions.

Above the lintel and supported upon two pilasters spreads the pediment which is surrounded by the folds of the body of Nagas with their heads standing erect on each side:

Fig. 8. Naga on balustrade.

Fig. 9. Prah Pithu—South Temple.

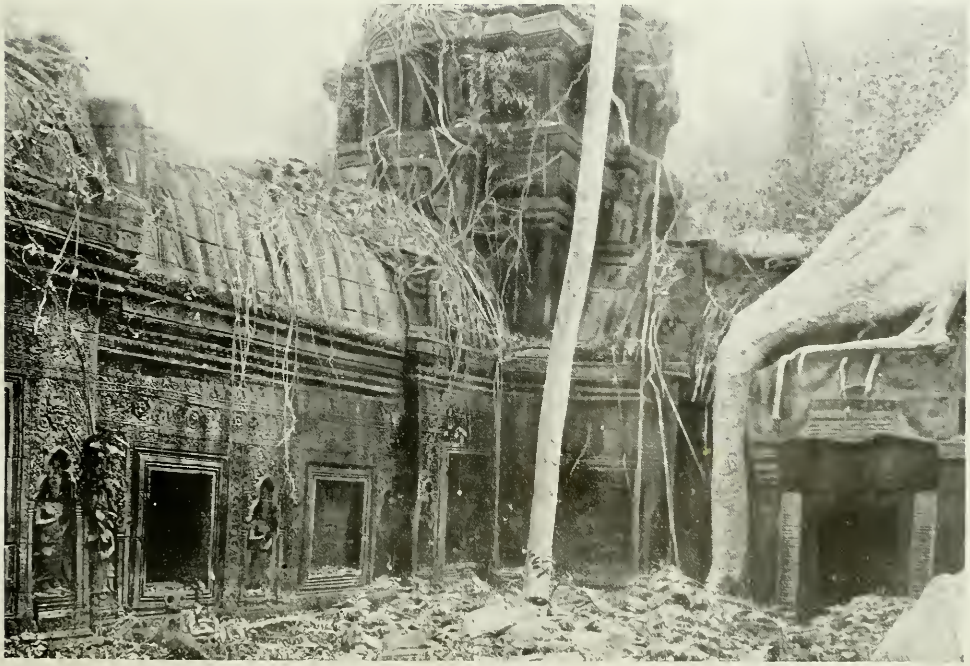

Fig. 10. Ta Prohm—Interior Court.

in the middle on a tympanum is shown, generally in low relief, some religious scenes. When several pediments are superposed on each other in conformity with different plans, an effect, in perspective, of a very great beauty is produced.

The Naga, along with the fabulous animal, the Garuda, is most often utilised in Khmer architecture.

The Garuda frequently plays the part of a caryatid either in the re-entrant angles of certain gateways of the enclosures or upon the walls of the terrace : it is represented with two arms raised, the wings spread out, and each hand holding the tail of a Naga with its heads standing out erect at its feet.

The Naga, as interpreted by the Khmers, has furnished them the occasion of creating one of those decorative *motifs* which suffices to immortalise the memory of a people in the history of art.[1]

All the temples and sanctuaries constituting together a complete whole were considered important enough to be surrounded by pieces of water forming moats or protective ditches : one would find them sometimes even in the interior of the walls of enclosure—without taking into account the numerous basins which served for the ablutions of the faithful.

For crossing over the moats the Khmers had established broad causeways of access edged by the body of Naga forming a balustrade. At the extremities seven, nine or eleven Naga heads spread out fan-wise and bristle with crests forming a *motif* of which the boldness of curve is truly admirable. (Fig. 8)

The entrances of the town of Angkor Thom were formerly preceded by causeways with balustrades formed by Nagas, but the body of the Naga instead of reposing on small pedestals of ornamented stone was borne on the knees of giants : these being arranged in rows must have constituted a very impressive *ensemble*.[2]

[1] One can compare the Naga, such as it has been conceived by the Khmers, with the Assyrian winged bull and the Egyptian sphinx.

[2] They have been able by carrying out excavations in the brushwood (jungle) to find out and replace a number of these giant carriers of Nagas at the eastern gate of Angkor Thom.

As one finds it, sculpture held a large place in the architectural decorations of Khmer monuments. It has, however, been sometimes affirmed that when they approached the human figure, the Khmer sculptors were found to be inferior. The numerous heads of divinities and some busts of a very beautiful composition found in the excavations on clearance would enable one to judge this rash pronouncement at its proper worth.

Now, what is the origin of Khmer art ? One finds it appearing quite abruptly in the history of the Far East : it shows, while yet in its first manifestations, a certain mastery, enabling it to attain, in a short enough space of time, the highest summits of architectural art in some of its monuments.

The question is far from being decided as yet. The Hindu influence is undeniable : it is known that before the first centuries of the Christian era, emigrants coming from India had penetrated into Indo-China and that at a later age some conquerors of the same origin had again disembarked in the country which had come to be the land of Khmer.

In Cambodge, the religious, the moral codes and the literature are borrowed from India. We find sculptured upon the numerous Khmer temples the same divinities and legendary heroes as upon the temples of the Hindus. The text of ancient inscriptions is very often in Sanskrit. The towers in the form of a pyramid with the stages detached from each other in distinct divisions in accordance with the canons of Dravidian architecture of Southern India, are evidently congeners of Khmer towers ; but if one takes note of the fact that the most ancient monuments in Pallava style goes up to the 7th century, it is difficult to establish a direct affiliation of one architecture to the other.
On the other hand if Hindu art had a share in the architecture of Cambodge, and this is evident, since from Burmah and passing through Siam and Java, every part of the Far East is more or less 'under cultural vassalage of India, one can also recognize in Khmer art the influences which do not manifest themselves so clearly in the countries mentioned above.

To build in so short a space of time such a large number of monuments, to cut,

carve and to engrave on such enormous surfaces of stones with such a profusion of detail, it is evident that considerable labour was needed not only of ordinary workers but also of sculptors and artists skilful in the handling of the chisel.

From whence came that workmanship? In which school were trained the artists? The problem still remains to be studied.

If some decorative *motifs* (in Khmer architecture) recall the art of India and of Java, on the other hand certain foliage and interlacings are not without analogy with our western mediæval art. Some winged figures—personages or animals—betray the Chaldean origin; but the capitals of vestibules (lobbies) and galleries of Angkor Vat have a profile which very much approach that of the Doric order of classic Greco-Roman architecture.

One can thus suppose that some very diverse influences have left their impress at Cambodge which was formerly a country often frequented by travellers.

By the side of an exuberance, often excessive in detail, and tiresome repetitions of the same *motifs* one finds in certain *ensembles* of which Angkor Vat offers the most finished type a unity of plan and composition which does not fail to recall the perspicuity and the logical spirit of the Mediterranean Coast. And there is in fact, nothing impossible in this, as through Syria and Persia the influences of Europe and Western Asia might have reached as far as Indo-China.

The arts inter-penetrated more or less but did not on this account exactly resemble each other: the originality of Khmer art attested by all the travellers who have visited Angkor could perhaps proceed from the multiple variety of foreign elements which are to be met with in Cambodge.

III.—INDIAN SCULPTURE.*

By Prof. W. ROTHENSTIEN.

WHEN years ago one tried to praise Indian sculpture, one was always told that no sculpture could be treated seriously which was so distorted as Indian sculpture; that there were actual representations of people with four and six arms and three heads. Now even the study of mediæval art would have taught people what real power means, and beauty and power are interchangeable expressions. But let us say, at any rate, that if injustice has been done to Indian art, it has been done to many other forms of art; it is only perhaps during the last 50 years that the earlier forms even of Italian art have been what we now call properly appreciated, and there is a danger of reaction in the opposite direction. We find now there is a tendency, especially in France and Germany, to understand the extraordinary ability and the importance of Indian art.

It seems to me extremely unjust that we should have studied Chinese art so closely during the last few years, when we realise that the whole of Chinese Buddhist art was founded upon Indian art; that every single form was invented by an Indian artist; that every attribute of beauty was a marvellous invention of Indian art. It was Reynolds I think, who said that even the greatest of artists only actually originated one or two ideas; and if you allow yourselves, and I hope a good many of you here will allow yourselves, to become interested in Indian thought and Indian art, you will be amazed at the richness of invention, shown in the pure forms of Buddhist art, with which I will deal presently. At the same time, I have pinned up two or three of the very best examples I could find of Bactrian art.

The Bactrian art is the most corrupt form of Greek art possible, and is without any of the beauty and without the power that you find in the sculptures of the great Brahministic school. So that we have to rid our minds, first of all, of the idea that Indian sculpture is good because it fell under the influence of the Greek spirit. I think that

* An address delivered before the India Society, London, on the 4th July 1922.

it is a very grave injustice to the greatest Indian minds, because for sheer originality I doubt whether there has been anything in the world at all quite like the invention shown by the Indian sculptors. If you consider Greek sculpture for a moment, you find on consulting your memories or a collection of photographs as to the amount of invention in Greek sculpture, how little Greek sculpture really is. There is nothing one dislikes more than to compare one branch of art with another, but we must realise that the Greeks did use one idea over and over again, as was done in the case of the Buddhist deity. I think if you look into the matter you will discover that the mass of Indian invention in the middle period of Indian art has not been equalled by any in the world.

I want to say again that a great deal of what we believe to be the Chinese genius, and a great deal of what we think to be Chinese spirituality, has been really an Indian invention, and I ventured to say some time ago in writing on the paintings of the Ajanta that the reason why Chinese painting seems more hieratic than Indian art to my mind is explained in this way : The Indians use the dress of their own day ; they use the culture of their own day ; they use, in portraying the beauty of the displays of ordinary people, the ordinary dress which they saw in the streets daily, and they gave a really noble impression of and the profundity of the invention, of Indian artists and craftsmen. At any rate, merely to take that one point, it does seem to me, given the fact of the great number of people who look upon Chinese culture as being the high-water mark of human effort, wonderful that the whole of the formulæ used by the Chinese should have been invented by Indian artists. The single invention of the seated Buddha was so formidable a thing that even to-day one cannot pass a shop with the crudest representation of the cheapest kind of Burmese or Indian Buddha without stopping to look at it. I know of no other single idea which has lasted with the same power as this one invention of Buddha sitting in meditation.

I think we are a little inclined to take all kinds of invention for granted. You will only find one or two world ideas with that inner vitality which allows them to go on when the form has become weakened and has become debased.

But the Buddha form is not by any means the only Indian form, and to-night, in the very short introduction I should like to give to Indian sculpture, I should like to divide the study of Indian sculpture roughly into three parts. The first is Buddhist art, and I should like to say at once that the same kind of injustice which has been done to Indian architecture on account of the overpraise of the Taj-Mahal has been done to Indian sculpture quite unwittingly by great scholars like M. Foucher, who really knew little about the great Brahministic schools. So the idea was born that just as Indian architecture was really influenced in its most beautiful form by Italian architecture, Indian sculpture was an absurd and fantastic invention with no element of truth in it. It was solely the accident of Greek conquest in Northern India, and it was the belief that the only really good Indian sculpture was the Bactrian or Greco-Indian work of art.

IV.—AJANTA FRESCO FRAGMENT IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM.

By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

THE fresco paintings on the walls of the excavated Buddhist monasteries and churches of Ajanta, in Central India (Northern Dekkhan) are not merely the main source[1] of our knowledge of Indian painting from the second century B.C. to the seventh century A.D. but the most important remains of ancient painting surviving anywhere in the world. All the themes are Buddhist : the paintings illustrate Buddhist theology, pseudo-historical scenes of the Buddha's life, or more often the Jatakas or stories of the Buddha's previous incarnations. At the same time, they

1. There are much less extensive remains preserved in the Ramgarh caves of Orissa, the Bagh caves in Central India, at Sittannavasal in Southern India, and at Sigiri in Ceylon.

present a detailed, varied and living picture of contemporary life, and a portrayal of animals, tame and wild, such as can no where else be found. Here are battles, coronations, dances and hunting scenes, birth and death, riches and poverty, love and hate, wisdom and blindness, depicted in an almost endless and always moving panorama of edifying story-telling, by artists of great accomplishment, learning and sensibility.

How great a change has come over Buddhism and Buddhist art since the beginning, a thousand years earlier than the average date of the caves ! Buddhist thought has emerged from its monastic setting and become a part of the daily life of men—and animals—and in the process has been utterly transformed. The formal emphasis on the suffering which is inseparable from all existence is replaced by a profoundly sympathetic vision of life as a field of experience in which human impulses of love or hate are revealed in all their working both for good and evil. The idea of Buddhahood and sainthood attained by pure self-discipline is replaced by the ideal of the Bodhisattva—a being dedicated to the salvation of all things while he yet experiences life at its best and in the most exquisite environment of love luxury. Ajanta painting is the counterpart of classic Sanskrit literature.

The work is technically fresco, though not quite like the fresco-painting of Europe, but rather a combination of fresco with tempera, a method still in use in India in which the surface of the plaster is kept moist until the painting is complete. At Ajanta the ground was prepared by applying a thick layer of mixture of clay, cowdung, powdered rock to the walls of the excavated monastery or temple, this basis adhering firmly to the porous volcanic rock in which the excavations are made. Over this was spread a thin coat of fine white plaster. The subsequent procedure is practically identical with that of the late mediæval Hindu (Rajput) paintings on paper. The composition is first outlined in red or black; "this drawing gives all the essentials with force or delicacy as may be required, and with knowledge and intention. Next comes a thinnish terraverda monochrome showing some of the red through it ; then the local colour; then a strengthening of the outlines with blacks and browns, giving great decision, but also a certain flatness, last a little shading if necessary. There is not much definite light and shade modelling, but there is great definition given by the use of contrasting local colour and of emphatic blacks and whites." (Herringham, *loc. cit. in fra.*)

The frescoes were first re-discovered in 1819 and have become well known, chiefly through the copies made by Mr. Griffiths and his pupils, published in "*The paintings in the Buddhist cave temples of Ajanta*" (London 1896-7) and the more recent copies by Lady Herringham and others, published by the India Society as *Ajanta Frescoes*, (Oxford 1915.) Still more recently coloured copies have been made by Japanese artists, and some of these have been well reproduced in the Kokka, Nos. 342,345,355,366, 374. The frescoes can be better studied, however, in an extensive series of photographs taken by Mr. V. Goloubew of which a few are published in Goloubew, V. "*Peintures bouddhiques aux Indes,*" Ann. du Musee Guimet, Vol. 40, Paris 1913 ; but only adequately studied on the spot with the aid of artificial light.

The Museum of Fine Arts has lately been so fortunate as to acquire a fragment of Ajanta painting, perhaps the only part of the original frescoes now surviving apart from the remains *in situ.* Until last year, the fragment in question had remained in the possession of the descendants of General James Edwin Williams by whom it was removed from the caves early in the nineteenth century. Nowadays the Ajanta paintings are happily protected from any further vandalism of the same kind, being in the care of the Director of Archæology in H. E. H. the Nizam's dominions.

The fragment exhibits a group of four male figures complete from a little above the waist, a small fragment of another head, and some foliage. The two upper figures wear white headdresses and white garments; the third figure (left side) is nude so far as preserved : the upper left arm of this figure is linked with that of the youth below, who wears a white garment. Two of the faces show small moustaches : two of the five heads have curly hair, two have smooth hair, and another is shaved so as to leave four thick tufts of hair of which one is con-

Ajanta Fresco in the Boston Museum

The Lady and the Gazelle.

Lovers letting off Fireworks over a Tank

Girl Walking in a Starry Night

Baz Bahadur and Rupmati riding by Moonlight.

cealed in the actual painting. The modelling is clearly indicated, and indeed emphasized, as is often the case with paintings of Cave II: this is not a representation of light and shade as such, but simply of the plastic relief. The basis of the painting, which is well preserved, though somewhat cracked, is the usual thin layer of fine plaster above a basis of dried mud mixed with fine chaff which was applied to the rock surface. The prevailing colours are sepia, warm dark brown, warm black, brownish sage green, and ivory white. The fragment is almost certainly part of an illustration to some Jataka.

The description given in Sotheby's sale catalogue refers the painting to Cave XVI on the basis of comparisons with Griffith's copies at South Kensington, not reproduced in his book. The same ascription to Cave XVI (right aisle) has been made independently by Professor Cecconi and Mr. Sayed Ahmad on the spot, by the kindness of Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, Director of H. E. H. the Nizam's Archæological Department. The frescoes of Cave XVI, however, are now so much damaged, and the Griffiths copies at South Kensington so much injured by fire, that it would probably be impossible to identify the exact spot from which the fragment was removed. The fragment will be reproduced in colour in the Portfolio of Indian Art to be published by the Museum of Fine Arts this year.

V.—EXHIBITION OF INDIAN PAINTINGS AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

By CHARLES MARIOTT.

Until lately the whole subject of Eastern Art has been rather neglected in London. It is true that our museums, both the British and the Victoria and Albert, are well stocked with examples of Eastern Art; Indian, Persian, Chinese and Japanese; but though easy of access to the special student, these examples have not, in the past, been put forward in such a way as to make them interesting and intelligible to the general public. Lately, however, there has been a systematic attempt to remedy this defect by means of special exhibitions of works drawn from the permanent collections of the museums, each representing some definite phase of Eastern Art, in such an arrangement that the simplest person can get some idea of its general characteristics. Thus, in the Exhibition Gallery of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, we have had in succession special exhibitions of Chinese Paintings, Japanese Colour-Prints and, at the moment, Indian and Persian Paintings and Illuminated manuscripts.

The aim of the present exhibition is to illustrate from the museum collections the schools of Indian and of Persian painting, supplemented by a few specimens of the pictorial Arts of other countries which have been strongly influenced by Indian Art and religion; that is to say, Eastern Turkestan, Tibet, Burma and Siam. The exhibition consists of 216 works, arranged as far as is convenient in chronological order. A copy by Mukul Dey from one of the earliest of the Ajanta frescoes, probably of the first or second century, A. D., introduces the subject, and the scanty survivals of Indian painting between the seventh and sixteenth centuries are represented by two Nepalese paintings recovered in 1908 from the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Tunhuang on the Western frontier of China by Sir Aurel Stein, and by a few other works from the same place. A series of Persian Illuminated manuscripts and Paintings leads up to an extensive collection illustrating successive phases of the Moghul School from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, and important examples of the purely Indian Schools of Rajputana, Jammu, Jaipur, and from the Kangra Valley. The exhibition ends with a few contemporary works of the Calcutta School. Thus the whole subject is effectively covered, from the Ajanta cave-temples down to the

present day, and the catalogue contains an explanatory introduction by Mr. Laurence Binyon.

Almost of necessity, the attention of the ordinary English visitor is occupied firstly with a general comparison between Eastern and Western art, and secondly with an attempt to distinguish the characteristics of the different schools. Different as are the arts of Persia, India, China and Japan from one another, they have in common something which distinguishes them all from the art of Europe. What is this ? Briefly, it may be described as an avoidance of realistic illusion. They are often minutely realistic in the representation of actual personages or events, but they make no attempt to deceive the eye. The result is that they are, even to the Western eye, purer both in pursuit of design and in the use of the actual materials. The drawing, even when it descends to detail, is more summary and rhythmical, colour is used for decoration and expression rather than for literal accuracy, and there is a noteworthy absence of those experiments in light and shade which bring objects into relief. But, to say that the art of the East is purer is not, necessarily, to say that it is "better" than the art of the West. The truth is, rather, that it expresses a different attitude to the material world; and that, for reasons which lie deep in the religions and philosophies of the respective races, the Western artist makes a more energetic attempt to subdue the facts of Nature in all their aspects, to the purposes of design ; with the consequence that the purity of his art is often compromised by what may be called undigested material. Looking at the matter more closely, however, the Western visitor observes that there have been periods in the history of his own art when the differences between East and West have been less marked than at others. It was so at the time of the Italian Primitives, and it was so, again, in the early days of the English water-colour school. Not only that, but there have been at all periods individual Western artists who have seemed to approach more nearly to the ideals of the East —and that without any personal acquaintance with Eastern art. There is a striking instance in the work of the English artist John Sell Cotman (1782—1842); a collection of whose water-colours is, or was, being shown side by side with the collection of Indian and Persian paintings. Allowing for the differences of subject, there is a marked affinity between his treatment of landscape and that of both the Indian and Chinese painters. Without going too deeply into the subject, it may be said that both this and the often observed affinity between the Early Italian and Eastern painters are partly due to the question of materials ; to the fact that neither fresco nor water-colour, nor the materials of drawing, lend themselves with the same facility as oil paint to that realistic illusion which, broadly, distinguishes Western painting from that of the East. The conclusion seems to be that, when the materials compel purity of style, the superficial differences between Eastern and Western art tend to disappear, while the deeper differences, due to religion and philosophy, remain. One may add, too, that the later phases of Western art—and independently of its conscious borrowing from the East through increased familiarity—tend to bridge the difference by disregarding realistic illusion in favour of design and expression. We may say, then, that art tends to be universal in character in proportion as it reposes upon feeling, and that we are liker in our dreams than we are in our conscious thoughts.

In attempting to distinguish the characteristics of the different schools, Persian, Moghul and Indian, the Western visitor is at the disadvantage of scanty knowledge both of the subjects and themes represented and of the peculiarities of style ; but certain general impressions may be recorded. Using the words as they are commonly understood in discussing Western art, we may say that the Persian work is remarkable for Decoration, the Moghul for Character, and the purely Indian for Expression. Nowhere in the exhibition is there to be found such intense joy in colour for its own sake as in the Persian illuminated manuscripts ; "Five poems of Nizami", made between 1539 and 1543 for Shah Tahmasp, with paintings by Mirak, Sultan Muhammad, Mirza 'Ali, and other artists ; and throughout the Persian paintings one is struck by the flowing, calligraphic style of the drawing, and the patterning with flowers and blossoming trees, as if the chief concern of the artist were to deco-

Maharaja Ranjit Singh

Dewan Bhawani Das
Banker of Maharaja
Ranjit Singh

A Portrait.
Delhi Miniature Style

Fateh Singh Ahluwalia

Jassa Singh Ramgarhia
Founder of a Sikh Clan
Died 1816

Portrait of A Sikh

Rāja Sansar Chand
of Kangra
Died 1827

rate the page. As between the Moghul and purely Indian paintings there is a distinction which corresponds in a remarkable way to a distinction in Western art: that between Realism and Expression. The remarkable individuality of the Moghul portraits, of both men and animals, the intense curiosity about the facts of nature, the accurate representation of "how the thing happened"—as in battle and hunting scenes and the occasional attempts at realistic relief; all these characteristics bring Moghul painting perhaps nearer to the more realistic phases of Western art than any other art of the East—except that of the later Japanese Colour-Prints; and it is significant that in several of the Moghul pictures in this exhibition there are obvious borrowings from the art of Europe. On the other hand, the moment we turn to the purely Indian paintings, we are conscious of something intensely sympathetic to that tendency in Western art which has lately been called "Expressionism". This is particularly noticeable in the illustration of Ragini subjects; which, to quote Mr. Binyon, "do not concentrate on the portraiture of men and things, but seek rather to make of their themes a kind of melody of fluid lines". In spirit, that is to say, they are in sympathy with the tendency in Western art, always present, side by side with Realism, but lately more consciously pursued, to make painting "approach to the condition of music", of which the chief modern exponent is the Russian artist, Kandinsky. Where these Indian paintings differ from Western "Expressionism", however, is in that they hold, entangled in the melody, so to speak, a much more definitely illustrative meaning.

To those of us who care more for the expressive than the realistic side of Western art, for the poetry of line and colour rather than for the explicit interpretation of character, these Indian paintings are the most attractive in the exhibition. Even to the unlearned, their descent from the early Ajanta frescoes is evident, in a lofty serenity of spirit in which both joy and sadness are delicately reserved, and in purity of style; and, indeed, in several examples, notably a drawing of "Nala and Damayanti hailing the moonrise", the difference from the Ajanta frescoes is hardly more than that of scale. Equally they represent a genuine folk-art, disregarding individual peculiarities in order to express the feelings and traditions of race. It would not be much to the point to describe individual paintings, but a few may be named for their special beauty; such as Asavari Ragini (connected with the Sri or Fortune Raga), "the snake charmer", from the collection of Sir Elijah Impey who left India in 1783; "Krishna and his playmates," the "Gopis and Cowherds," with its startling resemblance in style to a Greek vase-painting, and "Woman waiting for her lover under a tree on a starry night", both from the Kangra Valley.

VI.—THE SIKH SCHOOL OF PAINTING.

By SAMARENDRA NATH GUPTA.

TO a student of art the study of even a minor section of all artistic expression sometimes presents materials of considerable interest. Such an interest is evinced in the paintings of the Sikh period which show the last stage of the indigenous and essentially Hindu school of painting of the Punjab hills, commonly known as the Kangra school. Barring the Buddhist school which has a distinctly self-complete expression of Indian artistic culture, the Kangra school perhaps represents the biggest institution of Indian painting. That the Kangra school has a pre-Moghul ancestry is certain; for although actual records of this school of the pre-Moghul period have not been found, the theory of its having a pre-Moghul existence is very convincingly proved by the presence of certain types of paintings found in the Punjab hills having little or no direct influence of the Moghul school. The technique and treatment of such paintings give a clear indication of at least some of the aspects of pictorial art in the Punjab of

pre-Moghul times. The Moghul school was essentially Indian in character and feeling; and although it had the Persian school as its fountain head in the beginning, it owed much to the Indian schools for its inspiration and expansion. One of the sources which inspired and nourished the Moghul school was the art of the Rajput of Rajputana; but there are unmistakable indications that the art of Rajputana alone did not regulate the formation of the Moghul school. As a matter of fact substantial records go a long way to show that the orthodox elements of the Rajputana school were not largely accepted by the Moghul masters. On the other hand the art of even the latter period of Akbar's reign clearly proves the establishment of a distinct school, the evolution of which cannot be fully explained unless we take the Kangra school into consideration along with the Persian and the Rajputana schools. It was perhaps the combination of these three institutions that produced the richness of the Moghul school. The Punjab lay on the high road linking Persia with the Moghul courts and it is more than possible that the artistic atmosphere of the Punjab inspired the Moghul artists almost to the same degree, if not more, as the Rajputana school. The Kangra school outlived the Moghul school by nearly a century; for whereas the latter practically ceased to exist by the middle of the 18th. Century the former flourished quite prominently even a century later till finally it lost its self-expression and got dissolved in the hybrid Sikh school. The interest of the Sikh school therefore rests not on its intrinsic merits but on the fact that it shows the very last stage of an institution which once reached a very high degree of perfection.

The history of the political organization of the Sikh covers several centuries. It begins in the latter part of the 15th. Century when Guru Nanak preached the doctrine of his religion of eclecticism. He was a seeker of truth and his teaching brought him many followers. The faith of these men attracted many others and they gradually formed a purely religious and peace loving sect believing in the equality of men irrespective of caste and creed. This state of affairs however did not continue very long, and within forty years of the demise of Guru Nanak, the disposition of the Sikhs changed. From the time of Guru Arjan, the fifth Guru, the apostolic succession to the Guruship became hereditary because the Guru was no longer a mere mendicant or a preacher. He was the head of a growing organization which gave him both wealth and power and lived like a prince and kept large retinues. The persecution and ultimate death of Guru Arjan opened a new chapter in the history of the Sikh. The humiliated Sikhs rallied round their next Guru, Guru Hargobind, who for the first time armed his followers and initiated them into the mysteries of warfare. The martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur made a deep cut in the heart of the Sikhs and when in Guru Govind Singh they found a soldier rather than a spiritual leader, their martial patriotism was fully roused and they quickly changed from a purely religious and peaceful people to a powerful martial clan. A state of confusion and unrest followed the death of Guru Govind Singh but the subsequent formation of the different *misls* or small confederacies gradually restored the process of the organization of the Sikhs. As long as these *misls* remained separate the Sikh power was not properly established. This was achieved by Maharaja Ranjit Singh who by dint of his high abilities, supported by a matrimonial alliance* succeeded in establishing a central paramount Sikh power. It was under the patronage of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his immediate successors that the Sikh school of painting flourished.

There are hardly any indications to show the actual condition of pictorial art in the Punjab plains immediately preceding the Sikh period. While the natural isolation of the hills and the patronage of almost all the hill chiefs helped the indigenous art to sustain and flourish, the helpless condition of the plains only led to the destruction of all that was necessary for the existence of art. Neither did the plains offer any continuous patronage more or less essential for the existence and development of art on a large scale.

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* Ranjit Singh belonged to the Sukerchakia *misl*; he married Mahtab Kaur, daughter of the widow Sada Kaur who was at the head of the Kanhia *misl*. The alliance gave Ranjit Singh control over the two *misls*.

Dr. William Moorcroft
Vety. Surgeon to the East India Coy.

Mr. Herbert Benjamin Edwardes
He quelled the rebellion of Mulraj at Multan in 1846

Guru Nanak
The Founder of the Sikh Religion
Died 1539.

Maharaja Sher Singh
Adopted son of Ranjit Singh
Assasinated 1843.

Sikh School.

Guru Amardass

Guru Harkissen

Guru Har Rai

Guru Ramdass

After Originals in the Lahore Museum
By the Courtesy of the Curator, Mr. L. Heath.

During the times of the early Moghuls the Punjab had its share in art productions. Then followed the period of the Sikh Gurus. The later Gurus had their martial pre-occupation but it is likely that some of them who came in close contact with the Moghul courts may have felt the charm and magnificence of the Moghul school which had already produced its best. The three Gurus Har Govind, Har Rai and Har Kishan had intimate relations with the Moghul court. Har Govind entered Jehangir's army and he went so far as to serve under Shah Jehan even after an imprisonment for twelve long years by Jehangir. Har Rai made an alliance with Dara Shikoh. The succession of Har Kishan in supersession of his elder brother Ram Rai, who was kept as a hostage in Delhi, was settled by the arbitration of Aurangzeb. We are told that this infant Guru was taken inside the *zenana* as an object of great curiosity. It is clear that during all this time the Moghul courts had a strong influence over these Gurus and it seems likely that some of them, living like princes as they did, may have lent their patronage to art in some form or other. The result of this patronage may have taken the form of portraits and some of the earliest portraits of the later Gurus naturally come under this category. Records of this kind of paintings are however very few and strictly speaking they have nothing to do with the Sikh school proper. The extremely interesting piece of this type of painting is produced in the portrait of Guru Har Kishan (Pl. III), which is strongly reminiscent of the Moghul school. The figure of Ram Rai, the elder brother of the infant Guru, standing with folded arms before his younger brother is pathetically suggestive of the assumption of power by the latter in supersession of the former.

With the death of Guru Govind Singh the Guruship of the Sikhs came to a close. A period of general unrest followed. The Moghul house was in the meantime waning and when the invasion of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Durrani brought the chaos of rapine and plunder all possibilities for the production of art vanished and an æsthetic barrenness followed for a long time, till we come across some portraits of the period of the early *Misls* which may reasonably be said to indicate the first stage of the Sikh school. They were related *in toto* to the productions of the hill schools.

The establishment of a central government by Ranjit Singh brought the real foundation of the Sikh school. As a result of the frequent attempts at encroachment on the possessions of his mother-in-law Sada Kaur, by Sansar Chand of Kangra, Ranjit Singh came in close contact with the Kangra chief and for a number of years his attention was given to Kangra till the hill chief was reduced to the condition of a small *jagirdar*. The growing power and wealth of the new Sikh ruler naturally attracted some of the artists of Kangra and other hill states the power of which was fast waning. It was the work of these hill artists whose works executed under the patronage of the Sikh rulers which came under the Sikh school proper. Its chief contents are portraits of the Gurus, (Pl. III) the Sikh rulers and their courtiers including some Europeans who were in the Punjab during the Sikh period (Pl. II) ; group portraits of Durbar scenes ; paintings of subjects from Hindu mythology, particularly of Radha and Krishna ; love and other domestic scenes. Besides these, all of which are on paper, there are numerous frescoes on *chunam* on the walls of forts, (Pl. IV) Sikh *Samadhis*, Hindu temples and Sikh Gurdwaras and in the houses of Sikh chiefs throughout the Punjab. The object and composition of most of these are exactly similar to smaller Kangra paintings dealing with kindred subjects. The Kangra artists brought with them the traditions of their own indigenous school, but once they left the surroundings associated with their hereditary art they could not maintain their individuality for long. In the plains they came in contact with the growing influence of the Europeanised Delhi miniatures on paper and ivory (Pl. I). This seriously affected the work of the artists of the Sikh court who instead of keeping to their own traditions produced a hybrid art in which their hereditary art got hopelessly confused and mixed up with the pseudo-European school of Delhi.

The Sikh rule not only had an ephemeral existence but it had to wade through a most difficult time. The unsettled condition that followed Ranjit Singh's death was

hardly favourable for either the existence or development of art. It was a period of bloodshed, intrigue and mistrust. None of the Sikh rulers after Ranjit Singh had either the time or the disposition to look after anything that did not directly effect their self-protection. Neither had they any serious experience of æsthetic emotions, nor had they the artistic training to realise what the loss of indigenous art traditions meant. Taking all these into consideration it appears wonderful how under such indifferent and chaotic conditions and within such a short period the Sikh school produced such innumerable works. That none of them come in the front rank of Indian paintings is a national misfortune for which both the artists and their patrons are responsible. Under different restful conditions and under the guidance of patrons of understanding this school may have proved itself worthy of the notable house of Kangra from which it descended ; by the glamour of new influences, it lost its own individuality and produced a feeble expression of hybrid art but attracted as it was by the glamour of new and alien influences, it soon lost its own individuality in its attempts at imitation and left an object lesson the repetition of which is to be avoided in the interest of national æsthetic development.

VII.—THE TRAINING OF ARCHITECTS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By P. K. ACHARYA.

A mythical genealogy of the artists is given in most of the architectural treatises.[1] From the four faces of Brahma, the creator, are stated to have originated the four heavenly architects Visvakarman, Maya, Tvashtar, and Manu.[2] Their four sons are called respectively Sthapati, Sutra-grahin, Vardhaki, and Takshaka.

1. Manasara II. 10—19.
Vastu-vidya (ed Shastri) I. 12—19 Brihat Samhita.
Vastu-jnanam athatah Kamala-bhavanan muni-parampar-ayatam I
Kriyate'dhuna mayadam vidagdha-samvatsara-prityai II

2. Tvashtar is obviously a professional name. To the other three names several extant architectural treatises are attributed, *e.g.*—

(i) Visva-karma-prakasa, otherwise called Vastu-S'astra (Manuscript).

Another treatise bearing the same title has been printed by one Kshemaraja in Saka 1817 ; another at Benares in 1888. The same treatise is stated to have been translated into Bhasha under the title of Palaranvilasha by Mukula Saktidhara Sarma at Lucknow in 1896.

In Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts (Vol. II, No. 731, p. 142) probably the same Manuscript bears the title Visva-karmiya Silpam

In the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, there is yet another Manuscript bearing the title Visva-karmiyam Silpa-Sastram.

The Visvakarma prakasa or Vastu S'astra is stated to have been founded on the revelation of Visvakarman, traced back successively to Brihadratha, Parasara, and Sambhu. The Madras Manuscript contains a statement referring to Visvakarma's debt to Brahma, Indra, Maya, Bhargava, Angirasa, Manu, Vyasa, and Bhrigu.

(ii) Six works are attributed to Maya :—

(1) Mayamata Vastu-S'astra (Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Nos. 13034 to 13039).

(2) Silpa-S'astra Vidhana.

(3) Maya Silpa Satika.

(4) Mâya Silpa (A few extracts from this have been translated into English by Rev. J. E. Kearns in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 230).

(5) Maya Vastu, text p. 33, published by V. Rama Svami and Sons, Madras, 1916.

(6) Maya Vastu S'astra, text p. 40, published by K. Lakshmana, in Madras, 1917.

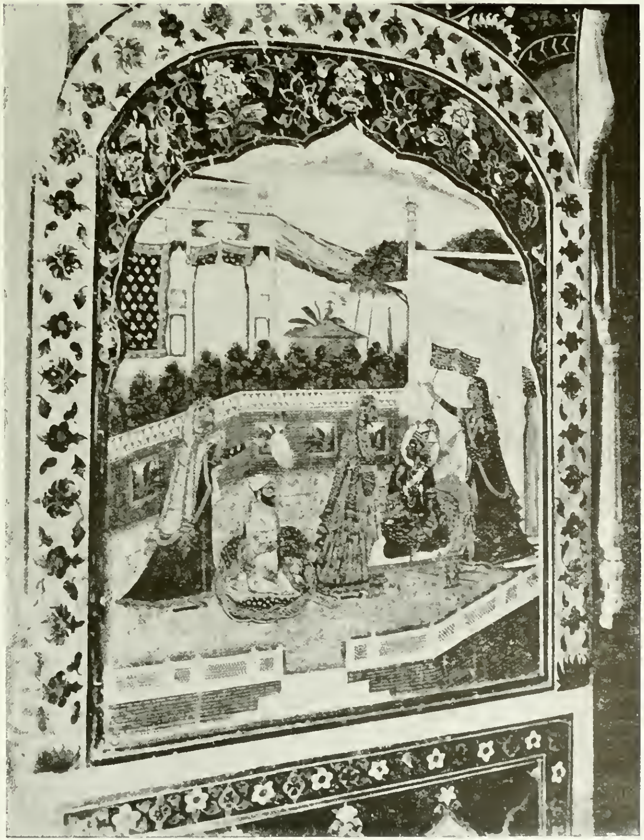
(7) There is also another few pages of English translation of Mayamata in the Mackenzie Collection (India Office Library, London,) Translation, Class X, Sanskrit, 2s.

(iii) No work has yet been discovered with the authorship of which Manu is credited. But to one or other of the fourteen mythical Manus several architectural treatises, including the Manasara have referred as an authority. One of the Manu is stated in the Ramayana (Vol. I, pp. 5 and 6) to have been the architect who built the city of Ayodhya :—

Ayodhya nama nagare tatra silloka-visrut
Manuna manavendrena ya puri nirmita svayam II

Truly historical documents also refer to these names as actual builders, *e.g.*—

Manu-Maya Mandavya-Visvakarma-nirmitam. (Ep. Carnatica, Vol. V, part I, No. 265, text p. 530).



Wall Painting. Sikh School

These four evidently represent the progenitors of the four classes of terrestrial artists. They form the guild of architects, each an expert in his own department, consisting of the chief architect or master-builder, the designer or the draftsman, the painter, and the joiner.

Sthapati is in rank the director-general and the consulting architect, Sutra-grahin is the guide (guru) of the other two, and Vardhaki is the instructor of Takshaka.[1]

Sthapati must be proficient in all the sciences. He must know all the Vedas. He must be endowed with all the qualifications of a supreme managing-director.[2] The master-builder must be a draftsman and able to design. He must be proficient in all S'astras. He must not be deformed by lacking in one or possessing too many limbs. He must be proficient in laws and compassionate. He must not be malicious or spiteful. He must be well versed in music. He must be of noble descent. He must be a mathematician and a historian. He must be content in mind and free from greed. He must be proficient in painting. He must know all countries. He must be truthful and possess self-control. He must not have any disease or disability. He must be above committing errors. He must be free from the seven vices (Manu VII, 47-8) *viz.*, hunting gambling, day-dreaming, blackmailing, addiction to women, etc. He must have a good name and be faithful to friends.

He must be an expert in the ocean of the science of architecture.[3] Thus, he must be very learned, meritorious, patient worker, dexterous, champion, of large experience, *kulina* (one who follows ancient custom, possesses modesty, learning, has fame ; performs pilgrimage, faithful, peaceful, practises meditation, gives charity).[4] He must be full of resources, and capable of application to all works.[5] Further, he must be acquainted with the use of instruments and should devote himself whole-heartedly to his work.[6]

He must also be a skilful draftsman of industrious habit, must possess wide outlook and be bold in temperament.[7]

Sutragrahin[8] should also be proficient in the Vedas and S'astras (sciences). But

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[1] Sthapatis tu 'Sva-turyebhyas
trivys (for trisrinya) gururiti smritah
Sutragrahi gurur dvyabhyam.
Takshakasya gurur nama
Vardhakiti prakirtitah.
(M. II. 19-22.)

[2] Sthaptih sarva-sastrajnah ;
Veda-vich chhastra paragah ;
Acharya-lakshanair yuktah ;
Sthapatih sthapanayarhah;
Sthapanadhipatir yasmat
tasmat sthapatir uchyate.
(M. II, 19—30.)

[3] Sthapatih sthapanarhah syat
Sarva sastra-visaradah II,
(Vastu Vidya Vol. I, p. 12.)

Na hinango 'tiriktango dharmikas tu dayaparah II.
Amatsaryo' anasuyas'cha tantrikastv abhijatavan II
Ganitajnah puranajnah anandotma pyalubdhakah II
Chitrajnah, sarva-desajnah satyovadi jitendriyah II
Arogi chapramadi cha sapta vyasana-vayitah II
Sunama dridha-vandhuscha vastu-vidyabdhi-paragah II
(Vastu Vidya, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.)

Here tantra implies stringed musical instrument, compare Vitruvius quoted below.

Usually 'dharmika' is taken to mean 'pious' or dutiful, but here, in view of the sense suggested by Vitruvius, it may be taken to mean 'proficient in law.'

[4] Achara-vinaya-vidya pratishtha-tirthadarsanam I
Nishtha sastis tapo danam navadha kulalakshanam II

[5] Prajna medhavino danta dakshah sura bahu-sruta I
Kulina sattva-sampanna yuktah sarveshu karmmashu II
(Mahabharata, Vol. XII, pp. 3244; see also Vol. XIII, pp. 5073—74, and Vol. XIV, pp. 2520—24).

[6] Karmantikah sthapatayah purusha yankrakovidad I
Tatha vardhakayas chaiva margino vriksha takshakah II
(Ramayana, Vol. II, pp. 80—3.)

[7] Vastu-vidnajno laghuhasto jita sramah I
Dirgha-darsicha surascha sthapatih parikirtitaha II
(Matsya Purana, see Pet. Dict.)

[8] Various etymological meanings of the term have been suggested, *e.g.*, sutragrahiti sutra-dhrist.
(M., Vol. II, p. 23)
Sutra-graha, yah sutrani grihnati natu dharayati.
Sutra-graha, yah sutrani grihnati dharayati cha.
(Vartika of Katyayana on Panini.)
Vardhaki implies both carpenter and sculptor (Karle Cave Inscriptions No. 6, Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 53.)

the special branch of his study is measuring and he must be an expert in drawing.[9] On his part too it is necessary to possess the general knowledge of all the departments of the science of architecture and to follow the instructions of the master-builder.[10]

Vardhakî,[11] too, should have the general knowledge of the Vedas and the sciences. But the object of his special study is painting. Besides, like Sutragrâhin, he should have an idea of accurate measurement. He must also be able to design architectural and sculptural objects from his own ideas.[12].

Takshaka,[13] carpenter or joiner must be an expert in his own department, namely, carpentry. He should also be proficient in clay work. He must be a qualified and able man. He should have the capacity for application to his work. He should follow the instructions of his three superiors, namely, the chief architect, the designer and draftsman, and the painter, but at the same time he must be capable of doing all his works independently. And he should have aspiration to rise in rank. But he should be of good behaviour, clever, dexterous, learned in sciences, free from excessive desire for gain, and generous to forgive his rivals.[14]

Whatever might have been the actual custom in the period of the early S'ilpa-S'astras, in more historical periods no distinction has been observed in the division of either functions or ranks between the Sthapati, Sutragrâhin, Vardhakî, and Sutradhâra. These terms appear in historical documents to have been indiscriminately used.[15] Like the term artist in English, Silpin is the common epithet.

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9. Strutajnah sutragrahi cha rekhajnah sastra-vit-tamah.
(M., Vol. II, p. 31)

10. Sthapatyajnanusari cha sama-karma-visaradah II
Sutra-danda-pramanajno manonmana-pramana vit II.
(Vastu vidya, Vol. I, dp. 16 and 17.)

11. Vardhaki is stated to be one who advances the scheme and follows sutragrahin implicitly;
Vriddhi krit vardhakih proktah sutragrahyanugah sada II
(M., Vol. II, p. 18.)
In the Mahabharata (Vol. p. 256—266) Vardhaki is called Takshana (—ka) not however in the sense of carpenter, but to imply executioner.

12. Vicharajnah Srutajnascha
Chitra-karmajno vardhakih
Vardhakir mana kormajnah
(M., Vol. II, pp. 32, 24)

13. Etymologically the term implies the cutter of timber for building purposes :—
Takshanat takshaka smritah
(M., Vol. II, p. 24.)
Takshanat sthula sukshmanam takshakah sa tu kirtitah
(Vastu Vidya. Vol. I, p. 13.)

14. Takshakah karma-vidyas cha bala-bandhu-dayaparah
(M., Vol. II, p. 33.)
Mrit-karmajno guni saktah
Sarva-karma svatantrakah I
Guru bhaktah sada-nishthah
Sthapatyady-anugah sada II
(Vastu Vidya. Vol. I, p. 19.)
Susilas chaturo dakshah
Sastrajno lobha-varjitah I
Kshamavanasya (-n syat) dvijas chaiva
Sutra dharah sa uchyate II
(Silpa-dipaka. Vol. I, p. 3.)
Compare also,—
Karmantikah sthapatayah
Purusha yantra kovidad I
Tatha vardhakayas chaiva
Margino vriksha takshakah II
(Ramayana. Vol. II, p. 2, 80.)

15. (a) Sutradhari implies—
Draftsman (Ep. Carnatika, Vol. V, Part 1, No. 133, Translation p. 163, line 2.)
(b) Vardhaki implies—
Carpenter / Sculptor (Karle Cave Inscriptions No. 6, Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII. p. 53.)
(c) Sutradhara implies—
Architect, artisan (Bheraghat Inscription of Alhavadevi, verses 33, 36, Ep. Ind. Vol. II, pp. 13, 17).
Mason (Inscription from Dabhoi, verse 112, Ep. Ind. Vol. I, pp. 1, 31, *cf.* First Prasasti of Baijanatha verse 36. Ep. Ind. Vol. I, pp. 107, 111.)
Sculptor (Verawal Image Inscription, line 5, Ep. Ind. Vol. III, pp. 303—11.)
Architect (Inscription from the Mahadeva Temple, verses 29 and 30, Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 165; Gaya Inscription of Vikrama Samvat 1429, line 9. Indian Ant. Vol. XX. pp. 313—315.
Similar instances could be multiplied, but the point seems to be clear.

But the object of this article is to deal with the branches of studies absolutely necessary for the architect or artist to be thoroughly acquainted with.

Thus mere enumeration of a long list of accomplishments will not justify us to declare that the ancient architect was actually endowed with all these qualifications. So to decide the actual state of things with regard to the training of the architect, further critical scrutiny is necessary. And that is possible, in the absence of direct evidence only by examining the subjects treated in a standard work on architecture.

First of all it is necessary to be clear about the meaning or meanings of Veda, Sruti, and S'astra, which terms are generally used rather loosely in Sanskrit literature, because the architect is stated to be proficient in these branches of knowledge. In literature 'S'astra' is used to imply any instrument of teaching, any manual or compendium of rules, any religious book or scientific treatise, any sacred book or composition of divine or temporal authority! It is sometimes used in the sense of Vidya, meaning knowledge, science, learning, scholarship or philosophy. It also means practical arts such as agriculture, commerce, medicine, architecture, sculpture, painting. (*cf.* Silpa-S'astra, Vastu S'astra) 'Vidya has fourteen divisions, *viz.,* the four Vedas, the six Vedangas, the Puranas, the Mimamsa, the Nyaya and the Dharma or law ; or with the four Upa-Vedas, eighteen divisions; others reckon thirty-three, and even sixty-four sciences generally known as Kalas or arts.' Obviously, therefore, the expression 'Versed in all S'astras' cannot be taken in an unrestricted sense. What the architect is required to know can, however, be deduced from his actual works and from the details given occasionally in the science of architecture (Vastu-S'astra or Silpa-S'astra).

In the Vastu-S'astra the term architecture is taken in its broadest sense and implies almost everything built or constructed. Thus in the first place it denotes all kinds of buildings—religious (temple), residential (dwellings), and military (forts), and their auxiliary members (columns, walls, floors, ceilings, roofs, doors, and other openings), and the component mouldings and ornaments, such as plinth, base, pedestal, shaft, entablature ; fillet, listel, annulet, astragal, caretto, scotia or trochilos, torus, cyma, talon, ovolo or echinus. Secondly it implies the town-planning ; laying out gardens, constructing market places and ports ; making roads, bridges, gates ; digging wells, tanks, trenches, sewers, moats ; building enclosure walls, embankments, dams, railways, landing places (ghats), flights of steps for hills and ladders, etc. Thirdly, it denotes articles of house furniture, such as, bed-steads, couches, tables, chairs, thrones, wardrobes, baskets, conveyances, cages, nests, mills, etc. It also includes making dresses, ornaments such as crowns and head-wear, etc.

Architecture also includes sculpture and deals with carving and phalli, idols of deities, statues of great personages, images of animals and birds. Painting also forms part of architecture.

As preliminary matters, architecture is also concerned with the selection of sites, testing soil, planning, designing, finding out cardinal points by means of a gnomon, dialing and astronomical and astrological calculation.

Besides being an all-round good, clever, and intelligent man, why an architect is required to possess the general knowledge of all sciences (S'astras) and the special knowledge of mathematics, history, geography, music æsthetics, law, astronomy and engineering can be imagined when the list of qualifications is read with reference to the subject-matters of architecture mentioned here. The point is satisfactorily elaborated by Vitruvius.

Before proceeding further, it is profitable to note that the leading Roman architect, Vitruvius, suggested in the first century of the Christian era, in a more methodical and scientific manner, almost the same syllabus. "An architect" says Vitruvius (Book 1, Chapter I), "should be ingenious, and apt in the acquisition of knowledge...... He should be a good writer, a skilful draftsman, versed in geometry and optics, expert at figures, acquainted with history, informed on the principles of natural and moral philosophy, somewhat of a musician, not ignorant of the sciences of both law and physic, nor of the motions, laws, and relations to each other, of the heavenly bodies."

It is familiar to everybody that for success in any profession in life one must be clever, industrious, honest and generous. It is also easily understood that an architect, who has got to do both manual and brain work must not be deformed and must be free from all disease and disability. According to Vitruvius he is required to be a good writer also, because an architect is to commit to writing his observations and experience, in order to assist his memory. Drawing is employed in representing the forms of his designs. Geometry which forms a part of mathematics affords much aid to the architect, to it he owes the use of the right line and circle, the level and the square, whereby his delineation of buildings on plane surfaces are greatly facilitated. Arithmetic estimates the cost, and aids in the measurements of the works; this assisted by the laws of geometry, determines those abstruse questions wherein the different proportions of some parts to others are involved. The science of optics enables him to introduce with judgment the requisite quantity of light according to the aspect. Unless acquainted with history, he will be unable to account for the use of many ornaments which he may have occasion to introduce. For history, the expression 'Purana' is used in the Indian literature and it implies mythology or mythological stories which are as a rule depicted in the buildings of a nation. There are, however, other uses of history for an architect.

"Moral philosophy" says Vitruvius "will teach the architect to be above meanness in his dealings, and to avoid arrogance; and will make him just, compliant, and faithful to his employer; and what is of the highest importance, it will prevent avarice gaining an ascendancy over him; for he should not be occupied with the thoughts of filling his coffers, nor with the desire of grasping everything in the shape of gain, but, by the gravity of his manners and a good character, should be careful to preserve his dignity." These precepts of moral philosophy are prescribed by our Indian authorities almost in the same terms. We have seen above that the architect is required to be of noble descent, pious and compassionate. He must not be malicious or spiteful. He must be content and free from greed. He must be truthful and possess self-control. He must be above the seven vices, namely, gambling, blackmailing, addiction to woman, etc. He must be faithful to his employer. He must not have excessive desire of gain. He must be of good behaviour and generous enough to forgive his rivals.

"The doctrine of physics is necessary to him in the solution of various problems; as for instance, in the conduct of water, whose natural force, in its meandering and expansion over flat countries is often such as to require restraints, which none know to apply, but those who are acquainted with the laws of nature." This matter too has been more exhaustively discussed in various chapters of the Manasara.

"Music assists him in the use of harmonic and mathematical proportion.' In these matters, the Manasara is rather too elaborate, in most individual cases, nine proportions have been suggested and the selection of the right proportion and harmony has been made dependent on the application of the rules of six formulæ which are treated in a very technical manner based on mathematics. According to Vitruvius, music is, moreover absolutely necessary in adjusting the force of the balistae, catapultae, and scorpions in whose frames are holes for the passage of the homotona, which are strained by gut-ropes attached to windlasses worked by hand spikes. Unless these ropes are equally extended, which only a nice ear can discover by their sound when struck, the bent arms of the engine do not give an equal impetus when disengaged and the strings, therefore, not being in equal states of tension, prevent the direct flight of the weapon." A knowledge of music is especially useful to the architect in building theatres, lecture rooms, and such other halls where the spread of sound is taken into particular consideration. Both Vitruvius and the Manasara are equally enthusiastic on speaking on it. The former further says that the architect "would, moreover, be at a loss in constructing hydraulic and other engines if ignorant of music."

"Skill in physics enables him to ascertain the salubrity of different tracts of country, and to determine the variation of climates, for the air and water of different situations, being matters of highest importance, no

building will be healthy without attention to these points." Most elaborate description on the selection of site and the examination of soil is given in the Manasara and other architectural treatises. The salubrity of the tracts is minutely ascertained with reference to the site where a village, town, fort, palace, temple, or dwelling house is to be built. The soil is examined with regard to its shape, colour, odour, features, taste and touch. The elevation of the ground as well as the luxuriant growth of certain plants, trees, and grasses on the ground are also minutely examined. "Law should be an object of his study especially those parts of it which relate to party walls, to the free course and discharge, of the eaves' waters, the regulations of cesspools and sewage, and those relating to window lights. The laws of sewage require his particular attention that he may prevent his employers being involved in law suits when the building is finished. Contracts also, for the execution of the works, should be drawn with care and precision ; because, when without legal flaws, neither party will be able to take advantage, of the other."

Law as explained by Vitruvius is not mentioned in so many words in the lists of accomplishments given in the Vastu S'astras quoted above. But most elaborate instructions are given in these treatises on the party walls, sewage system, windows and other openings."

"Astronomy instructs him in the points of the heavens, the laws of the celestial bodies, the equinoxes, solstices, and courses of the stars ; all of which should be well understood in the construction and proportion of blocks." In the Vastu S'astras dialing is an important subject but astronomy which is always mixed up with astrology, has been drawn upon particularly with regard to the auspicious moment invariably observed in almost all matters.

Vitruvius has added an explanatory note on the expression 'all sciences' of which the architect is required to have sufficient knowledge. This explanation will indeed throw a clear light upon a similar expression Sarva S'astra, used by the Indian authorities. But for the following note of Vitruvius, we should have taken Sarva S'astra, as an exaggeration which is very often found in the Sanskrit literature to imply nothing more than general knowledge.

"Perhaps to the misinformed mind," begins Vitruvius, "it may appear unaccountable that a man should be able to retain in his memory,such a variety of learning ; but the close alliance with each other, of the different branches of science will explain the difficulty. For as a body is composed of various concordant members, so is the whole circle of learning in one harmonious system."

"On this account, Lythius, the architect of the noble temple of Minerva of Priene, says, in his commentaries, that an architect should have that perfect knowledge of each art and science which is is not even acquired by the professors of any one in particular." This seemed rather too much to Vitruvius ; so he asks "how can it be expected that an architect should equal Aristarchus as a grammarian, yet should he not be ignorant of grammar. In music, though it be evident he need not equal Aristonenus, yet he should know something of it. Though he need not, excel, as Apelles, in painting, nor as Myron or Polycletus, in sculpture, yet he should have attained some proficiency in these arts. "Thus also in other sciences," concludes Vitruvius, " it is not important that pre-eminence in each be gained, but one must not, however, be ignorant of the general principles of each. For in such a variety of matters, it cannot be supposed that the same person can arrive at excellence in each, since to be aware of their several niceties and bearings cannot fall within his power . . . . . wherefore Pythius seems to have been in error, forgetting that art consists in practice and theory. Theory is common to, and may be known by all, but the result of practice occurs to the artist in his own art only. The physician and musician

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18. Quotations from the following authorities will be found in the author's dictionary of architectural terms under Bhu Pariksha :—

Manasara	**Vasishtha Samhita**
Brihat Samhita	**Vastu-pradipa**
Garga	**Narada**
Visvak	**Griha-karika**
Kasyapa	**Bhrigu**
Vastu-ratnavali	**Silpa-dipaka, and**

Bhavishya Puran, etc.

are each obliged to have some regard to the beating of the pulse, and the motion of the feet, but who would apply to the latter to heal a wound or cure a malady? So, without the aid of the former, the musician affects the ears of his audience by modulations upon his instrument. The astronomer and musician delight in similar proportions, for the positions of the stars, which are quartile and trine, answer to a fourth and fifth in harmony . . . Throughout the whole range of art, there are many incidents common to all. Practice alone can lead to excellence in any one. That architect, therefore, is sufficiently educated, whose general knowledge enables him to give his opinion on any branch when required to do so. Those unto whom nature has been so bountiful that they are at once geometricians, astronomers, musicians, and skilled in many other arts go beyond what is required of the architect."

VIII.—BUDDHIST PAINTINGS FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN.*

By AGASTYA.

THE valuable finds which that intrepid explorer and archæologist Sir Aurel Stein recovered from the sands of Western China in the course of his repeated visits to Central Asia have at last been made public in an adequate manner, thanks to the liberality of the India Office. Following upon the publication of *Serindia* which has set forth the results of the expeditions with exhaustive details, a supplementary volume of plates has now been published, under the auspices of the Secretary of State, accompanied by an excellent descriptive text by the discoverer himself and an admirable Introductory Essay by that well-known and accomplished *cognoscenti* of Far Eastern Art, Mr. Laurence Binyon. The project of the present publication was indeed a happy one, as it secures adequate justice being done to the artistic, as distinguished from the iconographic and archæological value of the varied and valuable finds which receive attention in *Serindia*. By devoting a separate publication to the paintings from Tun-huang, these valuable materials for the history of Buddhist Art outside India, has been made easily accessible in adequate reproductions to a wide circle of the students of Far Eastern Art and help to a concentrated attention and a specialised study of the pictorial finds the value of which are apt to be overlooked in the bewildering mass of archæological matters which face the students in the four volumes of *Serindia*. Besides, the 48 magnificent plates are reproduced on a much larger scale than was possible in *Serindia*. Students are therefore greatly indebted alike to the designers of this publication as also to the patrons who made this publication possible. Under the expert guidance of Mr. Laurence Binyon the student is able to face and discuss the many novel and fascinating problems which these ancient pictorial finds raise. Most of these questions are discussed in Mr. Binyon's illuminating essay on the place the Tun-huang paintings in Buddhist Art. These pictorial relics were discovered in 1907 along with a mass of valuable manuscripts in one of the grottoes in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang in the province of Kan-su in the extreme Western Frontier of China. They consist mostly of votive paintings on silk, silk and linen banners of various sizes and some specimens of embroidery and some outline drawings. Most of the documents are dated, and it has been supposed that these treasures were hidden away soon after the close of the tenth century A.D., so that none of them are later than this date. Though found in one place, the paintings are not the product of one local

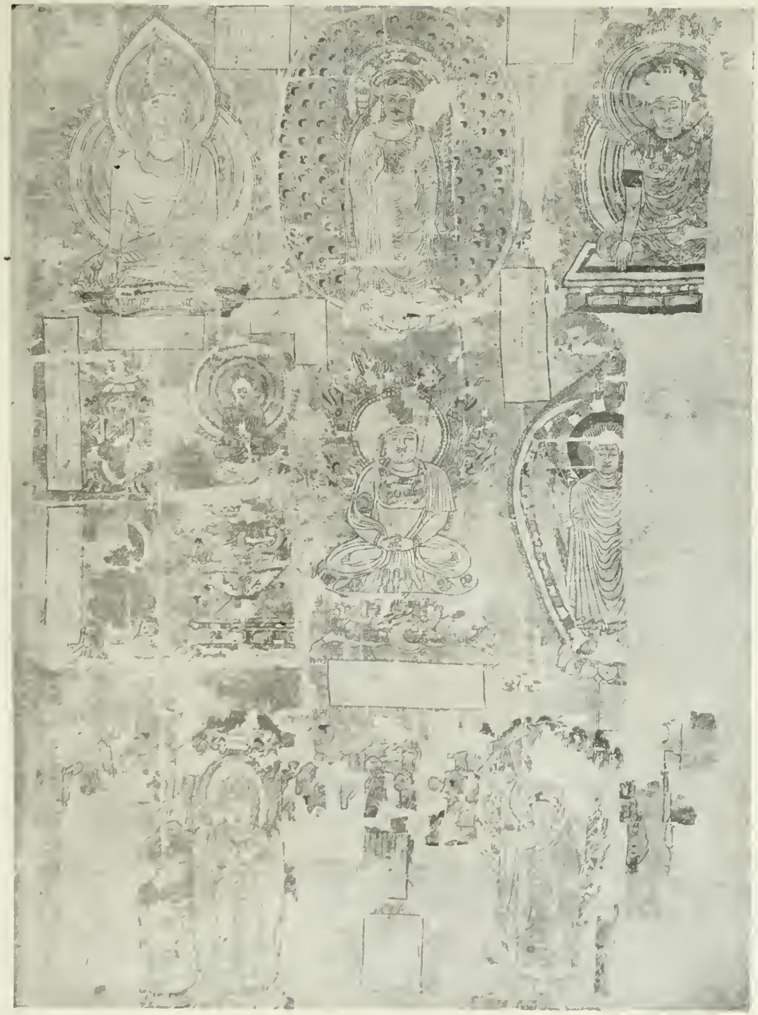
* THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the cave temples of Tun-huang on the Western Frontier of China recovered and described by Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., with an introductory essay by Laurence Binyon. (Bernard Quaritch.)—Price £7 10*s*.

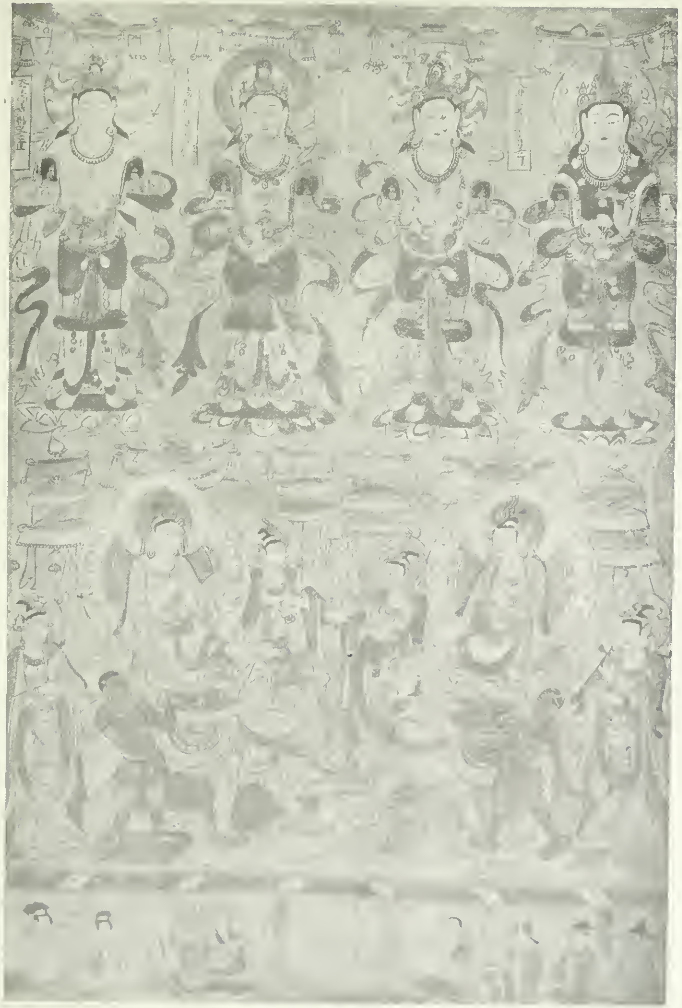
Amitābha with Attendants.

school as one is likely to suggest at first sight. They vary in quality and treatment though they are all of Buddhist inspiration. There are specimens which are purely Indian in style, and probably Nepalese; there are examples of well-defined Tibetan style and there are several specimens which are entirely Chinese, and lastly there are a number which contain Indian, Chinese, and possibly Tibetan elements in varying proportions, but are in an intermediate style, and may safely be held to be the product of local schools of Chinese Turkestan and of the region which, on the East, joins it to China proper. As Mr. Binyon points out in the paintings the Indian element is very strong. "The Caves of the Thousand Buddhas," excavated according to the old Indian tradition, are decorated with frescoes which recall those of Ajanta. It is the colony of Indian Buddist painting outside India. These paintings seem to offer some of the missing stages through which the Indian tradition passed to flower out in the Chinese Buddhist Art. Buddhism, and with it Buddhist Art travelled from India proper by way of the extreme North West frontier, the Valley of Peshawar, then known as the Kingdom of Gandhara, thence to the countries lying North, and so eastwards by the great trade-route across the desert to China. For 300 years from second century B. C. Turkestan was a Chinese protectorate. It again recovered its influence in the seventh century under an Empire of the T'ang dynasty. During the earlier period the influence of China was confined mainly to administration and to have affected little the culture of the people. During the later centuries the art of China was a potent element in the civilizing factor which was primarily provided by Indian Buddhism. From very early times the Hellenistic traditions of Asia Minor had also a share to contribute to Central Asian culture. And at Miran Sir Aurel discovered Buddhist shrines adorned with frescoes of the fourth century A. D. painted in the style of late classic traditon. But as Mr. Binyon points out, "fascinating as are these traces of Greece and the West in the midst of Asian deserts the influence of Hellenism was not profound or formative. India was the main influence on the culture of the cities on the oasis in the desert of West China." Yet the art of Turkestan is "full of mixed influences, the reflection of its civilization." The Indian element was quickly transformed to suit local conditions and in the confines of China proper was confronted with a highly developed artistic genius which soon fused the Indian tradition into the new fire of Chinese Buddhist Art. This flowered out in the art of the T'ang period (7th to 10th century). We have practically no record of the primitive phases of Chinese Buddhist art when China was formulating its Buddhist school under the first impulses of India. The few surviving specimens of the brush of Ku-kai-chi attributed to the 4th century do not bear any traces of Indian or Buddhist influence. T'ang art represents a full-fledged school, after a complete absorption of Buddhist motifs from India. And students who have admired the strength and delicacy of the T'ang school, have been longing for the study of materials which went to make up the magnificent art of this epoch. And Mr. Binyon has come to the conclusion that "the extraordinary interest of these paintings is that, though a great number of them are, as we might expect, obviously provincial productions, others belong to the central tradition of Chinese Buddhist paintings ; and as scarcely any such paintings of the T'ang period are known to exist, the importance of this group for the study of Chinese art, can hardly be over-estimated." Unfortunately the finds do not offer materials to help us to realise the nature and quality of T'ang Art at its best. By the end of the ninth century T'ang art had passed its meridian. And the earliest date that the Tun-huang paintings offer is 864 A. D. The others bear date of late ninth and early tenth centuries. It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to accept Sir Aurel's finds as containing the best representatives of T'ang paintings. Indeed the art of T'ang would not improve in its reputation amongst connoisseurs, if these silk paintings represented T'ang art at its best. In the various examples of T'ang-Buddhist sculpture which have been recently exported to Europe (e.g., the Early stone Kuan-yin exhibited at Musèe Cernuschi 1913) we are afforded ample glimpses into the quality of early T'ang art. And Mr. Binyon is also led to concede that these

paintings "afford no adequate material" for comparison with the early phase of Chinese Buddhist Art. And if they represent (as some of them by inscriptions indicate they do) the late phase of T'ang painting, they do not help to enhance the reputation of the T'ang masters. In the absence of adequate materials to represent the central tradition of Chinese Buddhist painting, Mr. Binyon, we fear, is led to a somewhat exaggerated estimate of the merits of the paintings reproduced in Plates II and III. They do not offer anything more than what is familiar to us in Japanese Buddhist paintings of the same period. Mr. Binyon is however able to draw a very important distinction from the art of the 4th century. "One thing is at once noticeable and that is the altered ideal of the human form; in place of the tall, slender proportions of Ku-kai-chi, T'ang arts substitutes shorter and more massive proportions. An ideal of power has superceded an ideal of grace." Mr. Binyon is perhaps right in attributing to the painting of Buddha attended by divinities (Plate XXXVIII) an earlier date than the rest. But this earlier antiquity does not, notwithstanding its affinity to the style of Ku-kai-chi, represent in the specimen a very high order of achievement. In judging of Buddhist painting the peculiar ideal of Buddha-worship which is an inheritance from India, is very often lost sight of. T'ang art is great not because of its strength and restraint and the fineness of its technical achievement—but because it pictures the central idea of Mahayana Buddhism to perfection and with the nascent strength of a primitive passion. It is great owing to its fidelity to the fundamental Indian conception and not because of the assertion of the peculiar Chinese genius. And in paying a compliment to the Chinese genius, it is as well to remember what the Chinese genius has borrowed, absorbed and assimilated. In scrutinising the beauty of the cup and its exquisite chinoiserie it is not fair to forget that the cup incidentally contains *amrita*—the nectar of immortality. These groups of paintings do not often answer adequately to the loftier aim and purpose of Buddhist art. They are of lesser merit than that of the early Wooden statues and Pottery Lohans of the T'ang period. They offer nevertheless very interesting and educative documents which show how the legends of the Buddha were translated into a Chinese dress—how the subject-matter, the imagery, and the canons of ideal forms are taken over from India and "fused in the fire of a different genius." There is a slight inclination to exaggerate the antiquity and quality of some of these paintings. While Buddhist sculptures of the T'ang period (618-905 A.D.) and even of the Wei dynasty (386-549) have come to light in abundance—there has been a comparative dearth of materials on which to judge the merits of Buddhist painting of the T'ang period. The earliest Chinese painter who worked on Buddhist subjects was Ku-kai-chi (4th century). Unfortunately none of his paintings treating of Buddhist subjects has survived—so that no material has yet come to light from which one could judge of the nature of Chinese Buddhist paintings before T'ang times. Even of Buddhist paintings of the early T'ang period, hardly any remnant has survived. Wu Tao-tzu, who belonged to the beginning of the eighth century, is not represented by a single surviving specimen.* Indeed this dearth of materials for the study of early Chinese Buddhist paintings, has made lovers of Chinese art rather thirsty of works of early T'ang painters. Mr. Binyon himself has been led to indulge in dreams of the lost masterpieces of the period—the fame and glory of which has justly raised expectations which have been clamouring for fulfilment. Now, amongst the Buddhist paintings brought from Tun-huang, there is one entitled "Four Forms of Avolokiteswara" (Fig. B.) which bears a date corresponding with the year A. D. 864. This is the earliest date found on any of the paintings. Others bear dates of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Yet on the basis of comparison with this piece, Mr. Binyon seems to be anxious to attribute earlier antiquity to some of the undated specimens. "Comparing the picture reproduced in Plate XVI with other pictures which are dated, we can have little hesitation in assigning the great majority of the paintings to the second

* Mr. Fergusson in his *Outlines of Chinese Art*, p. 214, reproduces a Kuan-yin of the T'ang dynasty which he attributes to Wu Tao-tzu.





Buddhist Paintings from Chinese Turkestan.

Fig. A
Sketches of A Chinese Artist After Indian Images.

Fig. B.
Four Forms of Avalokitesvara.

half of the T'ang dynasty (7th to the 9th centuries) and towards its close." Mr. Binyon himself demonstrates how rash it is to attribute an earlier date to paintings on the basis of a primitive aspect in style. Among the finds there is at least one painting (Plate XXXVIII) which seems to be in a style earlier than the rest. Yet this picture is dated A. D. 897 actually later than the "Four Forms of Avolokiteswara," similarly a woodcut dated A. D. 847 is much cruder and more primitive looking than another dated A. D. 864. "These facts and comparisons warn us of the danger of attempting to assign dates too confidently." Yet on the basis of manuscripts dated fifth century A.D. having been found with the painting, Mr. Binyon argues that "there is no reason why some of the paintings should not be considerably older than the earliest dated specimen." Mr. Binyon's suggestion may be true at least with regard to one fine piece, the one illustrated on Plate X—which may be older than the oldest dated example. The question as to how Indian subject matter was fused in the Chinese style is one of the debatable features of these paintings from Tun-huang. Mr. Binyon suggests that "as early as the fifth century, Chinese artists, as we know from sculptures at Yün-Kang, were copying the Gandhara types of the Bodhisattvas, though as M. Petrucci has observed, the Gandhara tradition at Yün-Kang "*a l'etat de debris, comme une chose finissante.*" It is incontrovertible that not a single specimen of Gandhara painting—has survived and the school of Gandhara sculpture terminated long before the fourth century. Mr. Binyon at one place suggests that the Gandhara school continued as late as the sixth century a supposition which is not even supported by Prof. Foucher. It might have survived in a very debased form in Khotan; but it is impossible to attribute to the latter any vitality or character which could have inspired Chinese Buddhist art. The frescoes at Miran near Lop, attributed to the 4th century, painted in the style of the late classical tradition, offer no affinity to Chinese Buddhist paintings. The Chinese' first acquaintance with the Buddha image may possibly have been in Khotan or some country "in the West"—(though the Chinese legends point to the first Buddhist image having come from India). Yet it is not permissible to argue merely on the basis of the formula and pattern of the Buddha image that Gandhara communicated Buddhist art to China. There has been an eager longing, from the very earliest times, in China, to seek the models of Buddhist images—as of Buddhist sacred literature, from the heart of India proper. As Mr. Binyon points out: "Buddhist images were introduced from India as early as the first century A.D., and were eagerly sought for and studied in succeeding times." And the drawing reproduced in Plate XIV (and here reproduced in (Fig. A) must be taken to represent one of many such sketches made by Chinese artists of Buddhist images from the most famous Indian shrines. Indeed, the sketches on this picture are of singular interest, as they represent a group of drawings made by a Chinese artist after Indian Buddhist statues—such as Huan-thsang—in the seventh century, might have brought back from his long journeyings among the sacred sites of India. With reference to this unique document, Sir Aurel Stein remarks that the "Indian style" of all these sketches are "unmistakably derived from the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara." It is difficult to endorse this view, as one at least of these sketches is accompanied by an inscription which describes it as a statue in the Kingdom of Magadha, a place where even the most pro-Hellenic of archæologists has not been able to smell Gandharan influence. In estimating the archæological value of these finds there has been, it seems to us, an inclination to discount the purely Indian contribution which has gone to make up the Chinese Buddhist art. It is indisputable that China very soon formulated its own peculiar and individual Buddhist school, which was in many respects different to the purely Indian formula, but the patterns, the canons, as also the inspiration of Buddhist images, undoubtedly came from India proper and was not derived from the debased and effete models of the Kushan stone-masons of Gandhara. According to the oldest account of Chinese painting—*Li-tai-ming-hua-chi* written by Chang Yen-yuan in the ninth century—there existed a large body of Indian paintings in China—described in his history as "pictures of middle India" (*Madhya desha*, very well known as the centre of a

school of painting). This description was completed in 658 A.D., so that a large mass of Indian masterpieces must have existed in China at the beginning of the T'ang period. We have at least the names of two Indian artists who settled in China and must have carried there the Indian tradition of Buddhist painting. Their names are Indra and Kapota. Mr. Binyon appears to exaggerate the Chinese influence on Tibetan painting. It is more related to, and directly influenced by, Nepalese art than has been hitherto supposed or acknowledged—for even as late as the thirteenth century, Tibet has imported Nepalese artists to execute its religious monuments. It is unfair to regard Tibetan painting as an offshoot of Chinese art; notwithstanding the elements that it borrows from China, it has a character quite its own. Nepalese painting has also received rather cold treatment in this volume. Among the finds collected from Tuan-huang a series of Nepalese paintings have been found. As Mr. Binyon points out, " these are precious documents, because of the extreme rarity of Indian paintings of so early a period." Unfortunately they have not been chosen for illustration in this portfolio and one is unable to examine the estimate that " their artistic interest is but slight." We have been at some pains in indicating the debatable points which these highly interesting finds and their evaluation have raised. In this case the conclusions of an authority on Chinese art is not final. As M. Sylvain Lévi has pointed out: " *L'Art Chinois est a partir des Wei, si profondement penetre par l'influence du Bouddhisme et par l'imitation des modeles Indiens, qu'il est dans une certaine mesure le bein commun de l'Indianiste et du sinologue*" These paintings therefore deserve further study and criticism from their relation to Indian painting and its Buddhist traditions. That such a study has been greatly facilitated by their publication in such an accesible form, with beautiful colour plates accurately reproduced, is a matter of congratulation which all students of Buddhist painting owe to Sir Aurel Stein, whose full and erudite notes on the plates are such a valuable feature of the portfolio. By the generous courtesy of the India Office, and through the kindly intervention of Mr. Binyon, we are able to reproduce here one of the colour plates which embellish this sumptuous publication on a very fascinating phase of Asiatic paintings.

REVIEWS.

KARL With: Java (Brahmanic, Buddhistic and indigenous architecture and sculpture in Java) *Folkwang Verlag, Hagen 1920* 165 Ill. and 13 plans.

This book is as much a representation as it is an interpretation; it revives Javanese art to live in our own mind into which it enters in visual form on a way prepared by intuitive understanding and by a constructive logic of thought, adequate to and derived from Javanese form. Stating beforehand the philosophic foundation, and none else is of deeper significance for Javanese as well as Indian art, the erotic life instinct and the metaphysical instinct of cognisance are found to be the leading principles of Indian and Javanese spirituality and art. Thus the volume, the main constituent of Javanese architecture, represents the whole of earthly existence with all passions and limitations. But as matter and spirit, though opposite principles, form one insoluble whole, so the principle of the volume is faced by that of space. " The impenetrable volume, limited on all sides is faced by unfathomable and infinite space. This eternal, infinite and universal space is interlaced with the volume, points to the volume and is identified with it. It determines the volume and extols it to a metaphysical power. The all-sidedness of the volume changes into totality of space; the volume appears to be a modification of this space which, with regard to its limitless expansion equals the dimension of the world-soul, the volume itself becomes at the same time the artistic power of reality and the metaphysical revelation of infinite space." " These two main problems of art correspond to the main problems of philosophy. They are equally fundamental and universal. In the same measure as all spiritual activity consists in parabolic expression and transcendentalism, and in the fusion of opposed elements, does the inner meaning of architecture result from the interchange of limited and limitless components, from material components and those without function, from real and metaphysical effects, from the simultaneousness of materialism and spirituality, from earthly and heavenly harmonies that unite in one rhythm, from the subordination of every fact under the measure of transcendental significance,

and from that generalisation which leads from appearance to existence. In this way the erotic and speculative tendencies which determine the entire spiritual life are repeated in exaggerated measure; for the architectonic activity is the most vital of all creative functions and at the same time the most mysterious and transcendental. And architecture is amongst all spiritual creations the most real creation, the most tangible embodiment, which touches the limits of the universe." "The identification of space and volume leads to an interpretation of the volume as if it were impenetrable and stiffened space. The generalisation of volume, which makes it the principle of reality, makes the volume itself the leading motif of architectonic ideas and their visualisation." (p. 26-27).

Dividing Javanese architecture into three groups, the first being represented by the stupa of Borobudur, the two others by Tjandi's and Viharas, Borobudur reveals itself as "a volume similar to that of the earth; earth is made to display its existence in this volume, where an exorbitant harmony connects all rhythms to unity." "With this movement of the volume in its entirety, a new rhythm—that of space—is put in competition. On all sides, the volume bursts out into the space of the universe and this space, infinite in its extension, reposes on the volume. The volume, everywhere leads eccentrically towards space, into the infinite, space on the other hand leads from everywhere into the volume. It crystallises in the summit of the central dome, and makes the volume rooted in space. This space seems to soak in the volume and to cover it at the same time. It penetrates the volume in the form of niches, it perforates the stone-cloaks of the small dagobas, it impresses itself deeply into the volume, forming rings and channels of space which seem to foam on their borders. In this way the terraces around the stupa are built. We have to understand these profiles therefore in a twofold sense. Starting from the volume, they are the borders of matter—and seen from space viewed in a negative sense—they are the profiles of infinite space, a supernatural and strange structure of space. In this way volume and space effect upon one another and in the same measure as the volume is rooted in and changes into space, the all-sidedness of space is continued in the volume; space becomes modified into volume, it becomes penetrable and stiffened." (p. 31-32). Architecture (in Java and India) has the comprehensive structure of Indian philosophy. The strange unity of architecture and sculpture lies in the metaphysical consciousness of life's unity. In this way architecture is significant of totality in a twofold sense: as monument with regard to its form and as cosmic symbol with regard to its contents. Totality consists in completeness, art consists in infinite relationship and the Indian consciousness of life is that of unity. Completeness, relationship and unity fundamentally determine the existence of artistic form with its succession of architectonic and plastic features. These however are not apparent as change, nor as attributes or contrasts but as completeness, fusion and unity. Completeness however means manifoldness and non-exclusiveness; fusion means insolubility and identity and unity means a universal validity which transcends the single and the isolated."

"What we call a monument—including architectonic and plastic elements—represents the realisation of a metaphysical conception of the world and of a vision rooted in philosophy. Architecture and plastic are simultaneous expressions of one and the same consciousness of life and every single part of the monument is an organic member and participates in the metaphysical unity of the world. Because architecture and plastic are rooted in metaphysical experience, they achieved that harmony of correspondence, that in most communion which does not mean equality but which grants unity with regard to a third factor, i.e. the monument as an expression of unity rooted in metaphysical cognisance of the cosmos. Therefore no sculpture exists without architecture and no architecture without sculpture. The plastic form is founded on the same laws and metaphysical principles which determine architecture and philosophy, *i.e.* on the principles of totality, identity, transcendental validity, on the laws of serial succession, of the succession in horizontal layers of infinitude in the plain, of repetition and symmetry." (p. 42-43).

Within this fusion of architecture and sculpture, the two elements preserve their respective character for "all architectonic form is subject to universal space and to the gravitation of volume while all plastic form is subject to psychical space and to the contents of life that is to say inner experience dictates the form and figures are the embodiments of psychical events." (p. 46). "The wealth of plastic forms reflects the superabundance of tropical landscape and the rule of re-incarnation and as we see in an uninterrupted plastic succession, ornamental, plantlike, animal, human and superhuman forms. The whole of this pictorial decoration represents one gamut of plastic surfaces, from the relief which is sunk into the stone, from ornamental bands, from pannels in high relief to the single figure in the round, ornamental and pictorial disposition are directly dependent upon the architectonic form and the architectonic distribution and sequence of volume. Ornamentation and relief depend upon the architectonic surfaces; the sculptures in connection with the building and the single sculptures however depend upon the architectonic volume." (p. 49).

"The problems of Indo-Javanese sculpture are dealt with in separate chapters, devoted to ornamenation, relief (where the serial relief extended in breadth is distinguished from the relief pannels, of which height is the prominent direction and sculpture), here again sculpture coherent with the building is considered apart from single sculptured figures, as for instance, images etc.). "Ornamentation is a connecting link between architectonic and plastic form, it amalgamates straight

lines and curves into a uniform texture, it mixes line with plastic and symbol with decoration. Ornamentation pronounces or modifies strong architectonic and plastic accents; it connects or neutralizes, it gives rest, it illustrates and accentuates. But this ornamentation is not exhausted by its plastic decorative and compositional significance; for it is animated in a high degree and it is symbolically interpreted. In this respect the animation of plant, animal and human form is of special importance for it makes these combinations of form, expressive of actual relationship and not only of fantastic imagination." (p. 50).

Starting from the "metaphysical expressiveness" of architecture and passing the "symbolical expressiveness" of ornamentation we proceed to the "psychical expressiveness" of the relief. The relevant constituents of a relief are: "the elements of pictorial composition, the scenic composition of the figures, the representation of an event and psychic expression." (p. 55).

I doubt whether the author is right in assuming that "there existed certain compositional schemes. The compositional structure resulted from a division of height and length of the relief into three parts, by making a net of diagonal connections. In this way successive movements may follow the diagonal connection, or plastic accents as for instance, heads, knees, elbows, heels, etc., may be placed where such diagonal net-lines intersect." (p. 58).

The construction seems too rationalistic in so far as the reliefs are epical and not hieratic. The purity of composition is enhanced by "a clear and purely plastic extension into depth which is achieved by an arrangement of the figures. Behind one another and by turning bodies, limbs, etc. in the round, without any perspectivic foreshortening or illusionistic construction. We have to consider closely this "space" of the reliefs in its relation to the architectonic space as defined above. "The space of the composition which corresponds to the plastic depth of the figures and embraces the event of the relief stands as spatial individuation so to speak between the universal space and the volume space. It is something special and different, with regard to the spatial expressions of the volume, because it is determined and organised by the relief composition and because it is not a transformation from space to volume; and it is something special and different from universal space because it is determined and limited in time. The composition of these reliefs is entirely supported by human figures. The strong and independent effect of the reliefs—if composed with architecture and ornamentation,—consists in the figures which are employed in concentrated manner; the plastic effect therefore is that of endless curves, of plastic modulations in uninterrupted roundness, extending into depth and spreading over the surface. These forms however are intimately connected with the inner meaning of the representation. The inner meaning of the representation is of substantial significance with regard to the reliefs. Here the relationship of forms is no longer based on the connection with the metaphysically infinite, but on that with the psychically infinite, which finds expression in the finite world. The inner meaning of the representations is expressed by a rhythmic succession of the figures, that is to say human form and psychical life determine form and expression. These reliefs are images of earthly life and of the psychical element in man which reaches beyond the body into transcendental depth. (p. 60-61).

"In every detail of these reliefs there is the life of actual reality inspite of the typical simplificaton, and inspite of this clearness, the relief has rhythmic and harmonic validity, and inspite of this formal neutralisation it is full with the intensity of some mood." (p. 62). Still architecture and sculpture are one insoluble whole and their connection is threefold. "There is, materially, unity of the architectonic and of the plastic volume, the architectonic volume protrudes without interruption out of the plastic volume or the plastic volume is imbedded into the architectonic volume; there is on the other hand a unity of principles, for plastic and architectonic form as well are rooted in the three dimensioned extension of volume in (the original) space; there is lastly a communion of functions, i.e. the plastic form is dependent upon the architectonic form and this dependence leads to corresponding forms and to reciprocal relations. But just here is the starting point where plastic becomes emancipated from architecture and the differentiation is due to different underlying motives, that is to say the principles of form—in common to archtecture and sculpture—get a new meaning in sculpture through the underlying idea, expressed through scenes and figures. This refers especially to the principle of repetition to symmetrical frontality and to the central composition, all of which of course are parallel with the architectonic composition and moreover depend upon and are dictated by it, but at the same time, and this is the main point, they result independently from the underlying idea of the representation. Thus the material and the ideal foundation of the forms and their validity lie in the same direction and it is in this sense that we have to speak of a transformation of the architectonic and materialistic expression of form into a plastic idealistic expression of form." (p. 76-77).

In this way we have to understand all Indian and Indo-Javanese sculptures "in the round" which are not at all conceived "in the round," but are somehow flat or "frontal." "The sculpture 'in the round' is developed out of the wall, this wall however is no façade or surface but merely an aspect on a part of the three-dimensioned volume. The frontality of these sculptures therefore does not result from a notion of the surface, it does not follow from an abstraction with regard to the volume, but it is on the contrary the expression of three-dimensioned volume, compressed for one moment into an aspect of frontality." (p. 77). The

sculptures 'in the round' the statues, carry on and intensify the principles of form and expression which determined the reliefs and the ornamentation. "With regard to form these principles are evidenced into the representation of the single figure, which has done away with the surrounding scene and the frame, and where the succession of ornamental motives or of the figures is replaced by one plastic figure consistent in itself.

With regard to the inner meaning however, states of transcendental existence or of elementary activity are represented. These however do no longer represent the infinite, but they embody the divine." (p. 84). "And it is the totality of these conceptions of God, which determine the architectonic plan (cf. plan I). The moment the religious and the metaphysical concepts change, the architectonic form also changes. Laws of thinking were made into laws of form, creations of thought into creations of form." (p. 86). Indian sculpture, on the other hand, taken in itself is unique amongst all sculptures of the world, for here "the actually earthly is reborn through art into transcendental validity." Herein lies the chief characteristic of Indian sculpture. Its Indianness consists in the twofold power of sensual and transcendental conception, of erotic and speculative experience, of vital and mental relation. On the one side there is a tropical and intense consciousness of the body, on the other side there is an intense metaphysical consciousness of the cosmos. And artistic form is the immediate expression of these views. "The basis of Indian artistic form may be called naturalistic, but we have to realise the Indian notion of the body which is critical and speculative, for the limits of the body to the Indian mind do not coincide with the limits of appearance and experience, and they are not merely accidental, but they are metaphysically necessary. Episode on the other hand effects upon matter until it is absorbed by the cosmic. Thus the body is the visible form of some psychical or transcendental factor, and the magic body of the Dhyani Buddha corresponds to his spiritual dimension. As the body, the 'naturalistic,' is interpreted in a spiritual sense we may call this mental process a speculative naturalism." (p. 90). This underlying interpretation of the human body, becomes tinged with a Javanese shade by "softness, simplicity, tranquillity and the surrender of humanity." (p. 92).

The Buddhistic Javanese sculptures differ essentially from those belonging to the 'Brahmanic' (Hindu) Pantheon. Borobudur with its figures appears as "overpowering peace, immovability, renunciation and salvation, far transcending all earthly things," and Prambanam with its Hindu figures appears as "agitation, heavenly joy, containing eternal change and not the eternity of the unchanged." The Brahmanic representations are expressive more of a physical than of a psychical state. Not what exists beyond all things, but what exists and works in the things themselves represents the commensurable element of the Brahmanic statues." (p. 94). "But howsoever great the local or temporal distinction be between Buddhist and Brahmanic works, yet all of them are intimately related and therefore the whole art of Central Java rightly may be called "classical Javanese art." The body everywhere is nothing but an experience of a superhuman, transcendental and metaphysical power: it is seen under different aspects at different times: once it is the bodily expression of a psychical state, *i.e.* the abstract, magical body; at other times it is the speculative, symbolical synthesis of elementary forces or the idealised representation of the God—as in human form. The spiritual is embodied and the body spiritualised, both gain reality as works of art. So one can speak alternately of a speculative, of a synthetic and of an idealising naturalism. The form has always an erotic origin, but its effect is transcendental." (p. 104). The characteristics of the Brahmanic sculpture of Central Java are brought to completion in Eastern Java. Here the elementary forces of the physical world grow in fantastic reality. "If Eastern Javanese sculptures have some similarity with the works from Central Java, this more probably is due to direct Indian influence than to that from Central Java. (p. 106). Eastern Javanese art, posterior to that of Central Java does not represent a further evolution of the latter, but it is based on new conditions and on new influences and is something new in itself and has only so much in common with the classical art of Central Java that both are Indo-Javanese. "Moreover Eastern Javanese art is not uniform in itself like the Central Javanese. It is based on two fundamentally different conceptions. The reason is that no longer the Indian element alone is ruling, and that the Javanese, the Malayan popular element has gained independent strength. At the same time we must not forget that the Indian influence there has a different origin and a different character from that of Central Java." And apart from that, influences from Further India and from China have to be noticed." The distinction between the Central Javanese and the Eastern Javanese style are with regard to ornamentation." In Central Java prevails a plastic modelling full of nuances, and only the plastic composition counts, while in Eastern Java the relief is kept flat and is cut deep and rectangularly into the ground so that the black shades of the ground form a pattern just as the modelled surface does (p. 51). Exhuberant imagination and a strange and passionate mood dissolves all things and bodies into ornamentation and symbols. And this fantastic ornamentation grows luxuriously over and obliterates architecture and the composition of the figures in the reliefs (p. 54). The reliefs are restricted to the surface and the origin of this new style is the puppet play, the Wayang. Types, scenic disposition and gestures too prove the independent novelty of Eastern Javanese art, which is rooted in the indigenous art of the people, uninfluenced by the monumental art of India. (p. 70-72).

The two main streams of Eastern Javanese art can be traced from the thirteenth century onwards: the style of the Empire of Tœmapel has its origin in Southern India and that of Madjapahit is indigenously Javanese (p. 108). "The climax of the monumental style of the Brahmanic art of Eastern Java is reached in the figure of Durga killing Mahishasura. Its fantastic naturalism proves that the climax of Brahmanic art lies in Eastern Java while that of Buddhistic art is situated in Central Java. The climax of the indigenous Javanese, the Madjapahit style however is reached in the statuary art of Bali." (p. 113-115). The third part of Java, Western Java is not sufficiently known in its artistic products or by most of its works excel by an almost prehistoric primitiveness; some, which are developed further resemble Eastern Javanese work but not to such an extent that influence can be traced. The Western Javanese work is more spontaneous and forceful than the Eastern and naturally has nothing of its complicated refinement." (p. 119). "Javanese art is the art of an oasis of civilisation which is situated in a sea of tropical aborigins. In the beginning it is Indian colonial art on Javanese soil and at the end it is Malaic-Javanese popular art on the sediment which Indian art left in Java." (p. 120)

Dr. With enters into the spirit of Indian art by an intuitive understanding and he clearly expounds his view of the characteristic features and the evolution of Indo-Javanese art. He could perhaps have written the book in a much shorter but not in a better way. Some insignificant mistakes may be mentioned: The halo of the Kalasan Buddha (p. 92 pl. 49) has the shape of a lotus-petal leaf and not that of an "Onion;" the onion has no meaning in Indian symbolism. Why is the image from Wanasaba which in the text (p. 94) is rightly named Vishnu described in plate 94 as a Saivaite figure in Buddha-posture? And lastly the two worshipping figures (pl. 70) are distinctly male and not female figures, as mentioned in the note (p. 145). With's book is a standard work. It is strictly scientific and is itself a work of art. The notes and plans are exhaustive, the illustrations well selected and abundant and the printing and cover are admirable.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.

The National value of Art by Sri Aurobindo Ghose, published by the Prabatak Publishing House, Chandernagore, August 1922. Price As. 12.

THE self-imposed banishment of the Maxim Gorky of Indian nationalism from the sphere of politics has been productive of a rich harvest of philosophic and æsthetic studies which have offered the very positive background to political thought and his contributions on these subjects have more than compensated for the cessation of his activity in the arena of politics. In the heat and confusion of a disorganised political struggle characterised by a lack of æsthetic training too much stress has been laid on the mechanical and economical sides of Indian life and its regeneration and very scant attention if at all has been given to the synthetic and the spiritual side of Indian nationalism. In the struggle for attaining a mechanical political freedom—the agitators and most of their followers have gradually drifted more and more from all that is best in Indian civilisation and culture. The problem of Indian politics has been too often regarded as a fight for the loaves and fishes of the material world and less and less as a vital cultural conflict for the preservation of the integrity of India's spiritual heritage. We therefore welcome this little booklet of 68 pages reprinted from the *Karmayogin*, which within a very small compass deals with a very large subject with characteristic clarity and terseness. The author strikes the very keynote of his subject at the beginning sentence: "There is a tendency in modern times to depreciate the value of the beautiful and overstress the value of the useful, a tendency curbed in Europe by the imperious insistence of an age-long tradition of culture and generous training of the æsthetic perceptions; but in India, where we have been cut off by a mercenary and soul-less education from all our ancient roots of culture and education it is corrected only by the stress of imagination, emotion and spiritual delicacy submerged but not yet destroyed, in the temperament of the people. The value attached by the ancients to music, art and poetry have become almost unintelligible to an age bent on depriving life of its meaning by turning earth into a sort of glorified ant-heap or bee-hive and confusing the lowest, though most primary necessity of the means of human progress with the aim of this great evolutionary process." It is but fair to point out that the æsthetic degeneration of India had begun long before the imposition of the soul-less education which only precipitated and completed the downfall. Mr. Ghose prefaces the kernel of his subject with a subtle analysis of the threefold uses of Art. "The first and lowest use of Art is the purely æsthetic, the second is the intellectual or educative, the third and highest, the spiritual. The æsthetic is of immense importance and until it has done its work, mankind is not really fitted to make full use of Art on the higher planes of human development. According to our own philosophy the whole world came out of *Ananda* and returns into *Ananda* and the triple term in which *Ananda* may be stated is Joy, Love and Beauty. To see divine beauty in the whole world, man, life, nature; to love that which we have seen and to have pure unalloyed bliss in that love and that beauty is the appointed road by which mankind as a race must climb to God." Mr. Ghosh rightly insists on the value of art in the training of intellectual faculty —divided between the imaginative, creative and sympathetic or comprehensive intellectual

centres on the one side and the critical, analytic and penetrative on the other. The latter are best trained by science, criticism and observation, the former by art, poetry, music, literature and the sympathetic study of man and his creations. These make the mind quick to grasp at a glance, subtle to distinguish shades, deep to reject shallow self-sufficiency. Art asserts in this training by raising images in the mind which it has to understand not by analysis but by self-identification with other minds; it is a powerful stimulator of sympathetic insight." But it is in the service of spirituality that Art reaches its highest self-expression. "So wonderfully has God made world that a man using a simple combination of lines, an unpretentious harmony of colours, can use this apparently insignificant medium to suggest absolute and profound truths with a perfection which language labours with difficulty to reach. What Nature is, what God is, what man is can be triumphantly revealed in stone or canvas." To mould the finite into the image of the Infinite is another spiritual utility of Art. "Spirituality is a single word expressive of three lines of human aspiration towards divine knowledge, divine love and joy, divine strength and that will be the highest and most perfect Art which while satisfying the physical requirements of the æsthetic sense, the laws of formal beauty, the emotional demand of humanity, the portrayal of life and outward reality—as the best European Art satisfies these requirements, reaches beyond them and expresses the inner spiritual truth, the deeper not obvious reality of things, the joy of God in the world and its beauty and desirableness and the manifestation of divine force and energy in phenomenal creation. This is what Indian Art alone attempted thoroughly and in the effort it often dispensed, either deliberately or from impatience, with the lower, yet not negligible perfections which the more material European demanded. Therefore Art has flowed in two separate streams in Europe and Asia, so diverse that it is only now that the European æsthetic sense has so far trained itself as to begin to appreciate the artistic conventions, aims and traditions of Asia. Asia's future development will unite these two streams in one deep and grandiose flood of artistic self-expression perfecting the æsthetic evolution of humanity." In dealing with the introduction to the subject Mr. Ghose has left himself little space to discuss the various aspects of the national value of Art. It has been seriously contended by some recent critics that Art has no "national value." Art is nothing if not international. An art which cannot transcend the necessities of a group of men bound together by a provincial culture, and surrounded by the accident of local geographical conditions—may have no appeal to humanity at large—and to the extent art is national—it tends to limit its utility to a few specialised group of men and becomes less and less universal—and incapable of expressing eternal varieties. Mr. Whistler and critics of his kind have somewhat pithily expressed the points of view in such phrases as—there is no such thing as 'English' Art—just as there is no such thing as 'English' mathematics. We wish Mr. Ghose had dealt with this kind of criticism of the national 'value' of art. That there is urgent necessity to meet this class of criticism is obvious to any casual student of the attitude of the modern Indian to the quality and character of the national Art of India.

NOTES.

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OURSELVES.—In completing the third year of its existence *Rupam* can well congratulate itself in being able to keep up a high level both in its contributions and in the quality of its reproductions. Indeed the expensive nature of the reproductions entails a very heavy strain on its resources which a very few of our readers are in a position to appreciate. There is not a single Journal in any part of the world which presents to its readers, in every issue, with such an expensive hand-made photogravure plate as it has been our fortune to do. It may be asserted without contradiction that our Journal is the most expensive production in the sphere it occupies. And while we are receiving frequent tributes to the quality of our production from all parts of the world, the moral and material support given to this Journal in India continues to be a matter of grave concern to us. That *Rupam* has been working for a decided influence on the development of art and art appreciation in India is being felt in many quarters. That its influence is not confined to the limited number of its subscribers has been demonstrated by many discussions in the local press particularly in a lively discussion which Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's article evoked in the "Bijoli." That Indian Art has been able, through the medium of *Rupam*, to make many friends is indeed an achievement of which we can be well proud of. But the attention that Indian Art has hitherto received from cultured Indians is hardly satisfactory. Notwithstanding the share that the local university has been able to give to Indian Art in its programme, the study of the subject is yet awaiting the serious attention of Indians. The appalling ignorance of the principles of Indian Art—indeed of Art generally that the learned Councillors of our local Legislative Council recent-

ly displayed in a discussion connected with the grant to the Indian Society of Oriental Art has helped to demonstrate the shameful neglect which the study of the Fine Art, indeed all forms of Art, has met with in the programme of our educated countrymen. The amount of energy and attention that has been given lately to the needs of political liberty, has been entirely denied to the needs of our cultural emancipation. If this is true, then *Rupam* deserves the positive and active support of every Indian, connected in whatever manner with the development of Indian civilization in all its phases. This support can be given in only one way—in the effort to extend its circulation. If the success of the magazine is dear to our readers, is it too much to ask them to help us to extend the list of subscribers? Will our readers bring it to the attention of their friends and more especially help to see that it appears on the reading table of every club, every library and every school in the country? We have heard some of our critics to say that our Journal belongs to one little coterie and is associated with only one phase of modern Indian Art. Our contributions and illustrations have already amply refuted such a charge. In our last number we have been able to furnish further proofs of the liberality of our outlook. And in according in our present number the place of honour to the work of Mr. Seal, a young aspirant and an ex-student of the Government School of Art, we have been able to provide additional proofs, if such were needed, that *Rupam* is not necessarily tied to one creed or allied to one group of artists. The only rôle of our Journal is to stimulate an interest in Indian Art and help it to attain new forms of development. And we have no doubt that the friends of Indian culture will extend to us a larger share of their support which we have so worthily deserved.

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SIR JOHN WOODROFFE.—The retirement of Sir John Woodroffe from the bench of the Calcutta High Court removes a personality, let us hope temporarily, from a niche in the Calcutta Society which he had made peculiarly his own. Indeed it is incorrect to suggest that he was a 'society man' in the accepted meaning of the term. He was a man of a retiring disposition and he was notoriously absent from most society or official functions. Yet his presence in Calcutta for the last few years has been a power in more sense than one and the influence that he has exercised on the cultured section of Indian Society has been fruitful of results which cannot be gauged at the present moment. After the death of the late Sister Nivedita, one cannot think of a single European except Sir John who has brought such sincere and sympathetic insight into the aims and ideals of Indian culture and has engrossed himself with such assiduous and reverent study of Indian religious literature, which was none the less illuminated with deep and penetrating criticism. He was chiefly known during recent years for his single-minded devotion to the study of *tantra* literature but the time and attention that he has given to Indian Art is very little known outside the members of the Indian Society of Oriental Art of which he was in a sense the Founder and the life and soul for many years. Indeed his interest in Indian Art was the cause of his excursion into the field of Indian religious literature. As a connoisseur of Art, of fine discrimination and wide sympathy his judgment has been ever sought for and relied on by his many friends and colleagues. The active support that he gave in bringing to public attention the new school of Indian Painting was invaluable and is worthy of emulation by many of our own countrymen. As a member of the Gallery Committee of the Art section of the Indian Museum he rendered valuable services and many of the finest treasures of the section owe their selection to his fine and discriminative judgment. He was an enthusiastic and a voracious collector of objects of Indian Art and many rare specimens of Tibetan paintings and copper images have gone to enrich his collection. It is hoped that his collection will be made accessible in the form of a *catalogue raisonne* worthily illustrated by the important specimens. Although he has not found time to help this Journal by his valuable contributions which we are expecting he will now be able to do, he has nevertheless been unstinted in his help in various ways specially by valuable advices with reference to the production.

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ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE MAHABHARATA: In an elaborate address read at the Bhandarkar Institute on the 23rd July 1921 (published in the Annals of the Institute for July 1921, issued in January 1922) the accomplished chief of Aundh, Srimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, has discussed the lines to be followed in drawing the pictures for the illustrations for the Mahabharata edition undertaken by the Institute. In the course of his very learned address, he has done us the singular honour of commenting on the views expressed by us on the æsthetic problem connected with the illustrations to the great epic, in a paragraph that we added to our *Notes* in our Fourth Number (October, 1920, p. 35). On the basis of the specimen of an illustration which was published with the Prospectus we were led to our remarks referred to above, which by the way were no means complimentary to those in charge of directing and editing the illustrations. The Chief of Aundh has dealt with our remarks with singular restraint and dignity and on the whole with utmost fairness to us and the views we have expressed. It is unfortunate that our respective ideas and the points of view with regard to this matter are not coincident and notwithstanding many points of agreement, we differ on fundamental principles. But before we go into the matter further, we have one complaint to make with regard to the Chief's

criticism of one of our remarks which we think is not fair to us. We had ventured to suggest (and we still adhere to our suggestions, notwithstanding the Chief's scholastic and archæological disquisition) that "any true and successful rendering of Indian mythical subjects must follow the path of symbolism and suggestion rather than of realism or naturalism," and demonstrated our position by contrasting the realistic methods of Poynter and Tadema with the imaginative methods employed by Blake and Burne-Jones in treating of epics, legendary or mythical subjects. We did not say a word about the Calcutta School of Painting or their exponents, but on the other hand referred to typical modern European illustrators of myths and legends such as Herman, and Arthur Rackham. Yet our distinguished critic has been pleased to remark: "The sum and substance of the criticism in *Rupam* seems to be that we should follow, in our work, the canons of the New School of Art, developing on the Calcutta side."—Again. "The drift of the criticism seems to be that the pictures should not be of the realistic type, and that the Calcutta School of Drawing should be more or less copied in our pictures." We repeat that we did suggest that the pictures should not be of the 'realistic' type—in the ordinary acceptance of the term—but where have we suggested the Calcutta School should be copied? The "realism" that is necessary to call up the mystical and spiritual atmosphere of the great Indian Saga is of a 'subjective' character and not of the nature of realistic illusion—which has been the bane of "artistic" education in India. Our critic has not a word to offer as to the methods followed by Blake, Burne-Jones, Rackham or Herman and we can legitimately conclude that he is not familiar with their works and the methods that they stand for in the art of illustration. In the present state of our æsthetic education and the absolute unfamiliarity of the masterpieces of Art, European or Asiatic, there is something tragic in a discussion of this character. But it appears to us that our critic has still an open mind and a genuine desire to grapple with the problem, as he says: "I have to request all and especially those that are interested in this subject of our Mahabharata illustrations, that any suggestions on this subject would be welcomed and very carefully considered. They would receive my best consideration and would be given a due weight in my final work." We would beg the Art Editor of the Mahabharata to study carefully the best illustrators of mythical and legendary subjects in Europe, particularly some of the modern exponents—including the picturesque if somewhat empty illustrations of Warwick Goble and Lockwood Kipling of Indian epics. This will give him the necessary preparations for his onerous task and we would particularly recommend study of the works of Burne-Jones, Rosetti, Blake and even the minor members of the pre-raphælite school such as Strudwick incidentally not omitting Simeon Solomon on the one hand, and Henrietta Ræ on the other. And if he will compare and contrast, the last named artist's "Lancelot and Elaine" with Burne-Jones' treatment of the same subject—he will be able to grasp our point of view sooner than any amount of verbal or written discussion. But our critic has indulged in a generalisation which goes to the root of the fundamental of Art and all æsthetic judgment. "Illustrations drawn from subjective standards and based on no fixed principles are surely enough out of place in a standard scientific edition of the Mahabharata." Such statements cannot go unchallenged by artists or art-connoisseurs with any pretensions for the canons of true appreciation and æsthetic judgment and the fact that it is printed in a Journal conducted by eminent philologists and epigraphists, cannot add any halo to such hallucinations and æsthetic fallacies nor make them too sacrosanct for the meanest or the most illiterate artist to question. Such effusions would have been laughed out in the juniormost art club of any country but they are likely to be paraded in India for another century or so or until we succeed 'in accomplishing our æsthetic re-education' by some miracle. No epic or legendary subjects can ever be adequately "pictured" or "realised" except by subjective or spiritual methods of designs. The glory and effulgences of the types of superman which people the dazzling panorama of the Mahabharata—the mystic and romantic atmosphere that pervades each nook and corner of its innumerable episodes and the mysterious dreamlands and the romances of its fantastic and grotesque fancies can never be suggested or visualised by painfully transcribing and tracing out the "details" and "properties" and the types of costumes and ornaments from Sanchi and Bharhut. We are all familiar with the laboured "poetic" abominations which the modern "savâpandit" strings together for the delectation of his patron by mechanical juxtaposition of choice words and classical expressions carefully culled from Kâlidâsa, Mâgha or Bhâravî. The words very rich in their classic association are there, but the spirit of classical Sanskrit is mocked like a human body by the rattling skeletons taken from a dead corpse. The most accomplished painter-archæologists in Europe e. g. Leighton, Tadema and Gêrome, or Overbeck, notwithstanding their remarkable technical achievements have been justly criticised for "having surrendered themselves to feeling with organs of dead Greeks and Romans." We have only ventured to advise the modern illustrators of our ancient epic not to sacrifice themselves on the altar of archæological details. Let us not be misunderstood—we do not entirely discourage a study of the "trappings" and "stage-fittings"—but what we do insist on is that they should be sparingly or judiciously used and after a thorough assimilation of the lessons that Sanchi, Ajanta or Borobodur can teach our illustrators. Even the traditional

pageants of *Ramlilas* where they have not been spoiled by imitation of the Modern Indian-stage, can offer suggestions more valuable than the Indian "antique." We have taken a vow not to allude to any of the works of the much-maligned Calcutta school or to their illustrations of the Mahabharata and Ramayana but even a superficial study of the designs of stage-mountings of a Fanto or Leo Bakst are sure to open our eyes and to liberate our judgment which the shackles of Ravivarmâ have consigned to perpetual slavery. If our ambitious illustrators of the new Mahabharata care to pick up a nodding acquaintance with what is happening in this sphere in Europe—he will find that on the stage as on the easel picture—on the book illustrations as on architectural sculptures, the trend of the real artist to-day lies in the direction of suggestion, of enlisting the beholder's own powers of fancy, and not merely placing something hard and fast, something immobile before them, to which their intellect may not add anything and from which it may not detract. In picturing for instance, some old hoary "*ashrama*" of Vashistha or Agastya, the artist will perhaps paint a setting of azure with, may be, a symmetrical arrangement of fantastic trees just to awaken a feeling of distance, severity or mystery—leaving the real task of realising a vision to the imagination of the audience which the artist only stimulates and not strangles and overpowers by too much description with the minutiæ of elaborate details. No amount of accurate translation of 'Karanda mukuta,' 'ratna-kodara-bhandha,' or 'indu-chhandhas' could spell out the spirit of the epic heroes of the "Bhârata." They could offer excellent archæological diagrams—but to call them 'pictures' or illustrations of the themes would be an abuse of epithets. Our critic is very jealous of any play of imagination on the part of the would-be illustrator of the Mahabharata. He *shall* not invent, improvise or imagine anything in connection with his pictures. He must borrow all his costumes, properties and *ayudhas* from the bas-reliefs of Sanchi or the railings of Amaravati. But from where is he to steal the models of the figures of Arjuna and Karna—not evidently from the warrior-types from the Pallava sculptures at the Seven Pagodas or the cyclopean *dwarapalas* of Elephanta—or the archers on the walls of Borobodur—for these 'so-called' masterpieces in stone are disfigured by "mistakes" of anatomy which "mar the correctness of effect." It is not clear if the elementary principles of anatomy "have been honoured in the Ajanta drawings" which as we all know have a full dose of the conventions of Indian artistic anatomy. With regard to "painting" (?) our critic is determined "to follow generally the same Ajanta drawings"—notwithstanding their "mistaken" and transcendental anatomies and "snaky" fingers—for he does not say that he will also "correct" their mistaken anatomies. For picking up notions of "correct" anatomy, we take it, the artists will undertake trips to Paris or Boston. Even at Paris, he must not peep into the Museè Rodin or stray into the Trocadero—he must only confine himself to the "Venus de Milo" and "The Victory of Samoth race." If he adventures into trans-Atlantic shores in search of "correct" anatomy—he must bandage his eyes, like the great Queen Gāndhāri, and refuse to look at the epic drawings of Rose O'Neill for they are too full of anatomical mistakes and if in New York he is enticed into the Metropolitan Museum—he must refuse to look at any Bodhisattva of the Wei or T'ang period—for the mistakes of these ancient Chinese artists might vitiate the eye for "correct" anatomy, and for ever disqualify our artist from adorning the pages of the scientifically critical edition of the great Epic. Before such an attitude it is sheer impertinence for any one to suggest that Art is independant of "correct" anatomy or accurate costumes. Illustrations or pictorial accompaniments to the text of a national epic are worse than useless if they are not—liberal interpreter of the spirit of the text—in other words if they are not works of art; and no amount of "correct" anatomy or accurate costumes and "period" architecture can make them so. The spirit of many an old classic legend has been successfully rendered without recourse to any archaic formula of dress or ornaments. The well-known Rajput masterpiece of "Krishna quelling the Kâlîya" (Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting Plate) is an eminently illustrative example. The character of the theme has been consummately rendered with a remarkable vision and sympathetic power of interpretation notwithstanding the fact that Nanda and Upânanda, on the land, are dressed in Moghul costume as the wives of Kâlîya in the water, are rigged out in the apparel of Kangra peasant folks. Many an archaic Christian theme has been similarly rendered with truth to its spiritual halo by the old Italian painters in terms of local colour and types of their contemporaries, so that there is no use in making a fetish of your archaic apparatus and archæological details. The spiritual contents of the Indian classic can only be adequately rendered if you know how to catch the character of the theme—you cannot trap it by the grossly objective apparatus of your archæological formulas. The spiritual "values" only answer to the extent of the artist's creative vision and the energy of imaginative response—the only resources of his subjective apparatus. We have been at some pains in discussing the methods and manners by which the heroes and supermen of the great tragedies of the great epic and the idealised atmosphere in which the "ideals" and the spirit and character for which they stand for, can be best rendered, as the Chief of Aundh has not suggested anything for the portrayal of this inner phase of the national epic. His chief anxiety has been how to picture and visualise in a credible form the physical environ-

ment in which the heroes lived, moved and had their being. He is more curious to find out whether he will use a lotus or an acanthus, a swastika, or a trisula as a decorative motif on the *patamandapa* of Kurukshetra. Undoubtedly the Mahabharata will call for a series of descriptive or narrative pictures which will merely give the many dramatic incidents of the "story" and help to concretise and localise the material environment of the rich tapestries of romantic anecdotes. We shall indeed be grateful to the Chief and his 'colleagues of the brush' if they call up before our eyes—the Court of Birâta, the streets of Hastinâpura or the ramparts of the capital of Jarâsandha—with the same authentic accuracy as Alma Tadema—resurrected the streets of Athens—rekindled the Roman sacrificial altars and awakened the echo of dithyrambs to new life. For such a physical picture of the "facts" of the great narrative the works of Alma Tadema or even Leighton or Poynter may serve him as good models. But this photographic realisation of the physical environment rendered in terms of laboured architectural details is only half the picture, for is the great epic nothing but a garland of brilliant anecdotes and military pageants to be rendered in terms of archaic details and archæological trappings? The spirit and character of Epic Womanhood can never be gauged by the manner of the *choli* of Draupadi or the 'material' of *Savitri's* embroidered *Kasaya*. The archaic details can only help somewhat mechanically to project the visualisation of the physical picture through the long corridors of time by investing them with a sense of distance, but the soul of the things, properties and trappings can only be rendered and suggested by subjective means—by symbolisation of lines and forms—by creations, not by transcriptions. Perhaps the Chief of Aundh will send his leading artist to the dusty ruins of old Delhi to borrow for his "scenarios" local colour and atmosphere by making actual sketches of dwarf banians or stately cactuses on the cemetries of old Hastinâpura just as Holman Hunt made an arduous journey to Palestine to study the 'atmosphere' of his famous "Scapegoat." If the artist cannot find pictures for the text in the mirrors of his imagination he will not find it in the mystic dust of the seven old cities of Delhi with all their putrid aroma of ancient history. A picture cannot be made up like Tilottomâ, by the agglomeration of tiny little archæological atoms. Our modern illustrators of Indian epics must choose for themselves whether they will set out to *make* pictures or *fake* them.

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